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THE MEXICAN MYSTERY

In the absence of any definite or official statement last week either by the Mexican dictator or by President Wilson as to the Mexican tangle, an air of mystery and conjecture prevailed. Toward the end of the week it was reported that President Wilson had said that the situation was "very much more favorable," but declined to say in what respect.

One established fact is that Mr. Lind, the President's special agent in Mexico, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy, our Chargé d'Affaires at the Mexican capital, had several conferences with Huerta's representatives and that Mr. Lind returned to Vera Cruz. It is believed that Huerta declined to accept any plan looking to his own elimination. The time for seating the new Mexican Congress is at hand, and Huerta holds that only this Congress can pronounce on the validity of the so-called presidential election or of its own election, or arrange for a new election. Huerta (or his spokesman) exclaims with outraged feeling at the idea that he can control the action of the new Congress—a delicious bit of *opéra bouffe* in view of what he did to the last one. Incidentally may be quoted a newspaper letter from an American in Mexico: "It is a fact sustained by proof that Huerta notified all his Governors in advance to send in election returns electing Blanquet and him; also that he issued to them lists of names of men to be elected to Congress. Of course the ele ction was the veriest farce."

Another of the few positive pieces of information of the week was that Mr. William Bayard Hale, presumably acting as an unofficial agent of President Wilson, visited General Carranza at Nogales, Mexico, over the line from Nogales, Arizona, and had conferences with him. It is asserted that the question of removing the embargo on arms from the United States was discussed and that Carranza continues to declare that this is the only step needed to secure the success of the Constitutionalists. It is asserted also, but without positive evidence, that Mr. Hale asked for assurances of a free election and a responsible and satisfactory policy of government if Carranza should succeed in overthrowing the Huerta régime.

One of the most important events of the week was Prime Minister Asquith's explanation of Great Britain's position as regards Mexico and the United States. This is outlined and commented upon in an editorial on another page, in which is offered a plan of action for the United States. Mr. Asquith's explanation was followed by a despatch from Berlin, which says:

> As a result of conferences between Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, and Secretary Bryan in Washington, and Ambassador Gerard and the Foreign Minister in Berlin, Germany agrees with President Wilson that it is imperative that a man capable of restoring order and ending the chaos be placed at the head of the Government in Mexico. . . . On the whole, Germany agrees to support President Wilson's efforts to settle the situation, leaving it entirely to the United States to decide how best this can be done. The German Government insists, however, that present conditions cannot be allowed to continue much longer.

We also present in this number a review of the events in Mexico which have led to the present situation.

THE "RITUAL MURDER" CASE: THE ACQUITTAL OF BEILIS

On Monday of last week the cable brought news of the acquittal at Kiev, Russia, of Mendel Beilis, charged with the murder of the Christian boy Yuschinsky, as described in Mr. George Kennan's article in The Outlook two weeks ago. Thus ends an attempt in which political fanaticism sought to fasten religious fanaticism to the point of murder upon the Jews. The verdict was forced by the Court (according to the fullest

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account we have seen) to be in the form of Yes and No answers to two questions:

1. Was Yuschinsky wounded within the Zattseff works in various parts of the body with intent to draw blood and then murdered?
2. Was Mendel Beilis associated in the murder and actuated by superstitious motives?

The reply "No" to the second question acquitted Beilis completely, but the reply "Yes" to the first seems to have been all but ordered outright by the Court, and to intimate a belief that the murder was for "ritual" or sacrifice purposes. The verdict was received with a burst of applause in the court-room. Allowing for the pressure by Court and Government, the acquittal of Beilis is proof that the common people of Russia may be trusted to do justice even though the Czar himself may seek to do injustice. The Russian Government has always contended that the hatred of the common people for Jews virtually forced it to adopt and pursue an anti-Jewish policy; but countless Russian protests against blood libel, together with the verdict, show that the haters of Jews are not the people of Russia, but the Czar, his associates and his Ministers. The jury was virtually a peasant jury, drawn in a city where the popular prejudice against Jews is supposed to be strongest, and yet it acquitted the accused in strict accordance with the evidence. No ritual murder case as important as this one has ever ended with a single trial, but if the Czar and Minister of Justice are well advised they will accept the verdict of the Kiev jury as final, and make the vindication of Jews complete by arresting and bringing to justice the real murderers, namely, the criminal gang in the Cheberiak tenement-house.

THE TRIAL OF THE CASE

The trial took place before a bench of judges and a jury. The latter was composed of seven peasants, two townsmen, and three petty Government officials. Its mental and educational status was low, but no lower perhaps than that of the Russian common people in general. The prosecuting attorney for the Crown was a Government barrister named Vipper, who, so far as we can judge from the proceedings, is bold, unscrupulous, domineering, and extremely irritable. He was assisted by two "civil prosecutors," Shmakof and Zamyslovski. The latter is a Black Hundred member of the Duma, and a fierce hater of the Jews. Beilis was defended by able counsel, including Gruzenberg, Karabchevski, Margolin, Zarudny, and Maklakof. Gruzenberg had already defended Jewish prisoners successfully in a previous "ritual murder" trial, and is therefore a man of experience in this field, as well as a lawyer of distinguished ability. Maklakof is a leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the Duma, and is generally regarded as one of the most eloquent and convincing speakers in that body. The indictment of Beilis filled twelve and a half closely printed newspaper columns, but only one-eighth of it was devoted to the accused and the evidence against him.

The Government, in the opinion of good judges on both sides, failed to connect the accused with the murder in any way whatever. Its witnesses were mostly "shady" characters, criminals, or children, and their testimony was contradicted or completely overthrown. Two of them—Vera Cheberiak and the Black Hundred student Golubef—fainted in the court-room and had to be removed. The former, who was the head of the gang of robbers in the Cheberiak tenement-house, has been exposed as an adulteress, a fist-fighter, and an acid-thrower, and, although she is a Government witness, she has been convicted of fraud in another case and is awaiting punishment. The impression made even in conservative circles by the Government's presentation of its alleged evidence against Beilis may be summarized in the words of Prince Obolenski, ex-Procurator of the Czar's Holy Synod. Speaking to an interviewer from the St. Petersburg journal "Reitch," the Prince said:

"The charge of ritual murder made against the Jews has no more foundation than the similar charge of using blood which was made at one time against the Christians. From the indictment of the accused, and from all the evidence thus far produced, I have come to the conclusion that the relation of Beilis to the murder is no closer than that of any other man. I have seen no proof which would lead me to suppose that it was Beilis, and not some other man, who committed the crime."

The ex-Procurator of the Holy Synod can hardly be regarded as prejudiced against the Czar and in favor of the Jews. His opinion, moreover, is supported by another dignitary of the Holy Orthodox Church, Bishop Nikon, who, in a similiar interview, said:

"It is absolutely impossible that Beilis

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should have committed such a murder. Besides that, the relations between the extreme zealots of the Russian faith and the Jews have become so hostile in Kiev that the charge of ritual murder made by the former is incredible. Such half-insane zealots are capable of any action which they think likely to inflame Russians and Jews against each other."

THE PUBLIC EXCITEMENT OVER THE CASE

No criminal trial since Nicholas II came to the throne has created so much excitement in Russia as this. The popular interest in the case was so great that the circulation of the daily newspapers, and particularly the Liberal journals, almost doubled.

In Riga, for example, the street sales from the news-stands increased 20,000 in the first three days after the trial began. Three wires from Kiev to St. Petersburg were wholly given up to telegrams and press reports relating to the case, and it is estimated that 100,000 words of "murder news" were telegraphed from Kiev daily to the periodicals of Russia and western Europe. There were fifty reporters and special correspondents in the court-room, and there would have been two hundred if all the press applications for admission had been granted. Twenty-one newspapers were suppressed, confiscated, or fined by the Government for comments on the testimony in the first four days after the trial began, and some of the confiscated papers were in such demand that the few numbers which escaped seizure were eagerly bought up at five rubles ($2.50) a copy, and people who could not get them borrowed them temporarily, and paid one ruble (50 cents) for the mere privilege of reading a single number.

But the popular interest in the case was no more remarkable than the outburst of popular dissatisfaction which it caused. The prosecution of a Jew on the charge of "ritual murder" was followed by appeals, remonstrances, and protests in all parts of the Empire and from all classes of the population.

Owing to the restraints of the press censorship and the denial of the right of public assembly, the people of Russia have never been able to express dissatisfaction through the newspapers, by public meeting, or in any other normal way; and they have therefore resorted, in late years, to "demonstrative strikes." If the Government begins a more active campaign against Finland, or orders the flogging of political offenders in the Siberian prisons, or interferes with the paying of honor to the memory of a popular hero like Tolstoy, some class of the population goes on strike, for one day, two days, or more, as a demonstrative protest against what it regards as injustice.

The beginning of the Beilis trial caused an epidemic of strikes in nearly all the large cities and in most of the higher educational institutions of the Empire. Seventy thousand factory and mill operatives went on strike in St. Petersburg, and many more thousands in Warsaw, Wilna, Riga, and other large Russian towns where the liberal sentiment is strong or where the persecution of Jews is disapproved. In the universities and high technical schools the protest against the "blood libel" was almost unanimous. All, or most, of the students went on strike in the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Kazan, Saratof, Odessa, and Warsaw; in the women's colleges of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev; in the women's medical institutes of St. Petersburg and Kiev; and in a dozen other colleges, institutes, or high technical schools in the capital or the provinces. There were demonstrative strikes in eleven of the higher institutions of learning in St. Petersburg alone.

In addition to these manifestations of popular feeling, the lawyers who conducted the defense of Beilis have received nearly a hundred telegrams of encouragement and sympathy, some of them from places as remote as Archangel, on the White Sea, and Russian towns in the Far East.

END OF THE KOREAN CONSPIRACY CASE

On the 9th of October the Supreme Court of Korea rendered final judgment in the case of Baron Yun Chi-ho and five other Koreans who were accused of conspiracy to assassinate Count Terauchi, the Governor-General, and who, after conviction, were sentenced by the Taiku Court of Appeal to six years of penal servitude. The Supreme Court sustains the decision of the lower tribunal and confirms its sentence.

Thus ends a famous case which involved, first and last, the fortunes of more than a hundred Christian converts, and which excited, a year ago, a great deal of interest and

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not a little feeling in religious circles generally and in missionary circles particularly. One hundred and twenty-three prisoners, most of them Christian converts, were arraigned in the court of first instance, and one hundred and six of them were found guilty; but when the case was heard in the Taiku Court of Appeal, in March, 1913, one hundred of the accused were acquitted, for the reason, apparently, that there was no conclusive evidence against them except the confessions of guilt which they were said to have made in the course of the preliminary investigation. These confessions, they subsequently declared, were wrung from them by means of torture. No evidence was offered by their counsel in support of the torture charge, and no investigation of it was made, either in the Seoul local court or in the Taiku Court of Appeal. That some form of "third degree" pressure was brought to bear upon the accused by the police is probable enough; but it is almost certain that they were not subjected to the inhuman treatment which some of them described. The higher courts, however, gave them the benefit of the doubt, and acquitted all except Baron Yun Chi-ho, an ex-member of the old Korean Ministry; Yang Keuitaik, of the Korean "Daily News;" An Tai-ku; Im Ching-chong; Yi Sung-hun; and Ok Kwan-pin.

The Japanese Government has not "wiped out the Christian movement" in the peninsula, as the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference thought it would. On the contrary, it has treated all Christian workers in that part of the Empire, not only with fairness and tolerance, but with sympathetic consideration. The Government still continues to give 10,000 yen annually to the Korean Young Men's Christian Association; private Japanese have contributed more than 2,000 yen this year to the same organization; and Count Terauchi himself has made a donation of 2,500 yen to the building fund of the Salvation Army. Christian work in the peninsula has continued to prosper, and in his latest report of progress the Governor-General states that there are now 2,102 Christian churches in Korea, with 281,000 native converts.

As an indication of the Japanese sentiment in Korea with regard to this incident, we quote from an editorial in the Seoul "Press:" "It is true that with regard to the conspiracy case a few American missionaries attacked our authorities in no moderate tone. . . . Now that sufficient time has elapsed for their ardor to cool down, they have seen that our authorities are not such enemies of the Koreans as they once thought, nor are they bent on 'wiping out the Christian movement in Korea.' We believe that even these few American missionaries are now our good friends. As for the majority of the American missionaries in Chosen, they have been, from the beginning, very good friends of our authorities, and some of them have defended them in all sincerity and earnestness against unjust and unfounded foreign criticisms. All have loyally co-operated with our authorities in the work of uplifting the Korean people, and have proved themselves powerful allies."

THE CURRENCY BILL

Those who think that discussions of the Currency Bill are always dry and technical should have been at the dinner of the Economic Club of New York City held at the Hotel Astor last week. It was the occasion of a remarkable debate upon the merits of the bill now before Congress—a debate in which Professor Joseph French Johnson, of the chair of Political Economy of New York University, and Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank of New York City, opposed the bill, while Senator Owen of Oklahoma and Representative Carter Glass of Virginia defended it. The appearance of Senator Owen and Representative Glass in this debate was of special interest because they have been active in framing the Currency Bill, they stand sponsors for it, it bears their names, and is popularly known as the Glass-Owen Bill.

Aside from the value of this debate as a contribution to public knowledge regarding the creation and construction and provisions of the bill, it was a notable illustration of the power of the orator to influence his audience by sheer force of character and intelligence. We suppose Mr. Glass would be the last man to regard himself as an orator—indeed, he apologized for what he feared was the ineffectiveness of his address on the ground that as a journalist he was a better writer than speaker. But his apology was unnecessary. He was the last speaker of the evening and began at a late hour; the financial sentiment of New York City is opposed to the bill, and therefore his audience of twelve hundred bankers and leading men of affairs was an unsympathetic one. Professor Johnson and Mr.

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Vanderlip had preceded him and had spoken with authority and effectiveness—one with the authority of the scientific economist and the other with the authority of the accomplished financier. But before Mr. Glass had finished he had his audience with him, eliciting laughter for his incisive and witty comments and loud applause for his clear reasoning and for his manifestly accurate knowledge not only of the bill but of the history and the operations of American finance. Twice when he essayed to stop he was greeted with loud cries of "Go on" from all parts of the room, and his speech, one hour long, was listened to with appreciative attention from beginning to end.

Mr. Glass accomplished perhaps more than he himself realized in removing misconceptions, misunderstanding, and prejudices regarding the bill, which unfortunately have prevailed to too large an extent in the financial metropolis of the country.

THE ARGUMENTS OF THE DEBATE

The entire country knows that the almost unanimous objection of the bankers to the bill has been based upon the feature of Government control. As we have before pointed out, except with regard to the very important and fundamental principle of Government control the bill does not greatly differ in structure or in potential operation from the bill of the Monetary Commission, known as the "Aldrich Bill," which the bankers of the country supported almost to a man.

The Aldrich Bill provided that the directors of the Central Reserve Association should be elected by the bankers. The Glass-Owen Bill provides that the directors of the Federal Reserve Board shall be appointed by the President. It is true that the bankers claim that there are other fundamental differences. They protest that under the Glass Bill the National banks are compelled to come into the system by law, whereas the Aldrich Bill made their coming in a voluntary matter. Mr. Glass demolished this objection by pointing out, amid the laughter and approval of his hearers, that the Glass Bill "compels the bankers to come in, while the Aldrich Bill made it impossible for them to stay out," and pertinently asked what practical difference a banker could find in the two provisions. Mr. Vanderlip objected that under the Glass Bill the circulatory notes are to be issued by the Government, and argued that they should be issued by the banks, as provided by the Aldrich Bill and as they are now issued under the National Banking Act. For our part, we have never been able to understand why a five-dollar National bank bill, bearing on its face the name of the "Cornwall National Bank," and circulating throughout the country because it is guaranteed by the United States Government, is not to all intents and purposes a Government note.

But Mr. Vanderlip claims that the Glass Bill permits the Government to issue "fiat money." Mr. Glass exposed the weakness of this objection by pointing out that 33⅓ per cent of gold and 66⅔ per cent of carefully scrutinized assets, representing material commodities, will underlie every dollar of the new notes, and, moreover, that the Government will not redeem the bills in gold, unless the regional bank responsible for them goes into bankruptcy. It is true that there will be a fiduciary element—that is to say, a mere promise-to-pay element—in the new notes, but there is the same, although much smaller, fiduciary element in the notes of the Bank of England and the Bank of France. The question is not whether the new notes will be "fiat" notes, but whether the fiduciary element is too large a percentage of the notes. Some economists think that it is, some economists think that it is not. In our judgment, the only way this problem can be solved is by practice. If the Federal Reserve Board is of sufficient caliber and distinction, it can protect the country against the dangers of so-called inflation of the promise-to-pay or fiduciary element by regulating the rate of discount.

THE CHANGE OF BANKING OPINION

The most singular fact which was brought out at this dinner was the absolute right-about-face which the bankers of the country have made on the question of Government control. Six months ago, having protested that the Glass Bill provided too much Government control, the bankers now protest, if Mr. Vanderlip may be accepted as expressing the best sentiment of American bankers, that the bill does not insure sufficient Government control and power!

Mr. Vanderlip, at the Economic Club dinner, presented the outlines of a bill which he has recommended to Congress. It provides for the establishment of a United States

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Central Bank, with branches throughout the country, the stock to be allotted to the people by popular subscription, the smallest subscribers receiving the first allotments, and the Governing Board to be wholly appointed by the President, each governor serving for a term of fourteen years.

To understand what a radical change this means in the attitude of the bankers one has but to read the resolutions of the American Bankers' Association, passed only a few weeks ago, denouncing Presidential appointments to the Federal Reserve Board as a dangerous injection of politics into American finance.

Both Senator Owen and Mr. Glass answered the argument for a single central bank by showing that, while such a bank operates well in France or Germany—both of which countries are so small in area compared with the United States that either of them could be placed within the State of Texas—a country like the United States, measuring fifteen hundred miles north and south by three thousand miles east and west, cannot be properly served by a single bank, but needs six or eight or ten independent but affiliated banks under the supervision of the Government. This need the regional banks are created to supply. In other words, the Glass Bill is modeled upon our Federal political system. It establishes a group of independent but affiliated and sympathetic sovereignties, working on their own responsibility in local affairs, but united in National affairs by a superior body which is conducted from the National point of view. The regional banks are the States and the Federal Reserve Board is the Congress.

As we believe in a strong Nationalized Government in our political structure, so we believe in a strong and centralized power in the Federal Reserve Board. We think the fear of centralized and continuous power, a fear which is a part of the philosophy of the Democratic party, has prevented the framers of the Glass Bill from giving the Federal Reserve Board sufficient freedom from partisan influence and sufficient tenure of office. This, to our mind, is the main defect of the bill. We should be glad to see the Board so constituted that its entire structure cannot be changed for political reasons within the term of a single President. This might be done by increasing the size of the Board, or by increasing the term of office of the individual members, or by reducing the number of ex-officio members from the Presidential Administration. But even this modification does not seem to us to be of sufficient importance—if it cannot be agreed upon at once—to delay the passage of the bill.

The country should remember that the present bill is a result of ten years' careful study, investigation, and debate. It is now time to act. When the bill is put into operation, of course defects will display themselves. This is true of almost all great National legislation. But we believe these defects, if they do show themselves, can be corrected by amendments and improvements after the bill has been put into operation. The bill should be passed promptly.

THE REPUBLICAN REORGANIZATION

The contention of the Progressives that the Republican National Convention of 1912 at Chicago was a misrepresentatative and unfair Convention is being confirmed by the attitude of the present Republican managers. The National Committee and others influential in the councils of the Republican party are already taking steps for a reorganization of the party, and for a removal of those features in the National management of the party which led to the rebellion of the Progressives. It is now proposed to call a National Republican Convention next year, although that is not a Presidential year, to consider how the party rules can be modified so as to remove the obnoxious danger of venal delegates being elected by corrupt methods from those States where the Republican party has little popular support. This is a somewhat roundabout way of saying that Republican delegates from the Southern States are too often the corrupt products of corrupt methods.

It has been suggested that the Progressives could be brought back into the Republican fold by the nomination of a thoroughly upright man of progressive temperament who had no active part in the conflict of last year. Justice Hughes, of the Supreme Court, is thought to be such a man. That the idea that the Progressives can be brought back into the Republican party by the nomination of a satisfactory candidate and by a modification of the rules by the National Committee is seriously entertained is indicated by the following telegram which the editor of this paper received last week from the "Public Ledger" of Philadelphia, one of the ablest,

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most intelligent and broad-minded Republican journals in the country. The telegram reads as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., November 12, 1913.

Dr. Lyman Abbott,
The Outlook, New York:

Would nomination of Justice Hughes by Republicans for President unite Progressives and Republicans 1916? Please wire reply our expense. (Signed) PUBLIC LEDGER.

We print this telegram and the reply to it because it gives us an opportunity to answer many other correspondents who, from time to time, ask our opinion concerning the future of the Progressive party. Our opinion in this matter is embodied in the following reply to the inquiry of the "Public Ledger:"

November 13, 1913.

The "Public Ledger,"
Philadelphia, Pa.:

Answering your telegram, I have no authority to speak for the Progressive party. But my judgment is that the National Progressive party will unite with no other party which does not adopt the essential principles, policies, and political philosophy expressed in its platform of nineteen hundred and twelve.

(Signed) LYMAN ABBOTT.

MR. ROOSEVELT IN ARGENTINA

The interest felt at Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, in Mr. Roosevelt's visit, as indicated by the cabled press despatches, strengthened steadily from day to day. The people of the country were increasingly impressed with Mr. Roosevelt's attitude toward the great Latin-American countries as shown in his address at Rio de Janeiro on "American Internationalism," that at Buenos Aires before the Museo Social on "Democratic Ideals" (both of which have appeared in The Outlook), and finally by the address of November 10, also before the Museo Social. This was entitled "Truths and Half-Truths," and was a continuation of the exposition of "Democratic Ideals." In its course Mr. Roosevelt said:

We are not Utopians. We know that in spite of all that government can do the prime factor in any man's life will be, in the future, as it has been in the past, that man's own character. But we believe that government can do much, and we intend to make it a most potent instrument in working for the uplifting of mankind. We believe that we can make things measurably better, partly by our own individual efforts, partly by our joint action, through the Government or otherwise. We do not intend to destroy individualism. We intend to further its development. But we intend that it shall be developed as the servant and not the master of man.

Particularly significant was the address made by Señor Zeballos, formerly the Argentine Foreign Minister, at the ceremony when the University conferred upon Mr. Roosevelt the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Señor Zeballos declared that nowadays the Argentine Republic did not accept the *protection* of the Monroe Doctrine, but it did accept Pan-Americanism. Thus he voiced Argentina's acceptance of Mr. Roosevelt's declaration that such countries as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile have the same kind of interest that the United States has in preserving order and aiding the development of the whole American continent and for the common good.

It was in this spirit also that the Argentina Conservative paper "La Nacion" said: "This visit of the ex-President has antecedents which make it particularly pleasing and interesting to the nations for whose international position and rehabilitation he used his influence, urging that they be invited to participate in the Hague Conferences. It was at The Hague that they figured for the first time in the concert of the great Powers as peoples with the rights of nations."

At a great banquet at Buenos Aires on November 13 the national hymns of Argentina and the United States were sung, and the emphasis was again laid, both in Mr. Roosevelt's speech and in the address of welcome by Señor Frers, on the Monroe Doctrine as an All-American policy.

In every possible way Mr. Roosevelt's reception and treatment in Buenos Aires, both official and personal, was cordial and included all possible honors.

The first of Mr. Roosevelt's articles which describe his South American journey and discuss the political and economic conditions of the great countries visited will appear in The Outlook of next week.

TENNESSEE POLITICS

Governor Hooper, of Tennessee, has won his long fight for law enforcement at the second extra session of the Legislature, which he called to consider the law-enforcement measures. Tennessee has a Constitution unique in two respects: the Governor's veto of a bill can be overridden by a majority vote instead of the usual two-thirds vote, and

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it takes two-thirds of the membership of either house to make a quorum. Governor Hooper has been twice elected by the combined votes of Republicans and Independent Democrats, including, in the last election, all but about five thousand of the voters, who supported the National Progressive Presidential ticket. But at this Legislature the Memphis delegation in the House held the balance of power between the Regular Democrats and the aforesaid combination. The Fusionists were in favor of the enforcement of the prohibition law in Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga, where the law has been virtually annulled by the attitude of the city authorities. The Memphis Democrats acted first with the Fusionists in the organization of the Legislature, and this combination elected Judge Shields, an Independent Democrat, to the United States Senate. When the law-enforcement measures were introduced, the Memphis delegation went over to the Regular Democrats, and the new combination undertook to repeal the reform legislation that had been enacted, whereupon the legislative quorum was broken by the exodus of a third of the Legislature, consisting of Republicans and Independents. This rendered the majority powerless, and finally, through the persistence of Governor Hooper and the response in public sentiment to his appeals, what was called the "Nuisance Bill" and another making effective the Federal law known as the Webb Law were passed. The sessions of the Legislature were marked with much disorder. Even bloodshed was feared, and both factions called in armed officers of the law. It will be impossible hereafter for these cities openly to defy the law of the State, any citizen being now empowered to bring an action against the lawbreakers.

THE NEW COLLECTOR OF THE PORT OF NEW YORK

Without opposition, the Senate of the United States has confirmed the President's appointment of Dudley Field Malone to be Collector of Customs for the Port of New York. This is the second appointment to that office that President Wilson has made. Mr. Malone's immediate predecessor was John Purroy Mitchel, who succeeded William Loeb, Jr. Mr. Loeb's record in connection with the sugar frauds has made his administration of that office well known. Mr. Mitchel was appointed in May, and resigned his position as President of the Board of Aldermen of New York City in order to accept the appointment. Upon Mr. Mitchel's nomination for the mayoralty of New York he resigned, but his resignation was not accepted until after his election. In the brief period in which he held the office Mr. Mitchel gave evidence of his devotion to administrative efficiency. Mr. Malone therefore succeeds to a position in which high standards of public service have been maintained.

The new Collector of the Port is a son-in-law of Senator O'Gorman, of New York. Although the Senator is a member of Tammany Hall and advocated the election of the Tammany candidate for Mayor, the fact that the appointment of Mr. Malone is credited to him is not in any degree counted in Tammany's favor. Mr. Malone settled any doubt on that matter during the campaign by making a strong speech against Tammany on behalf of the anti-Tammany ticket. It is to be hoped that Mr. Malone, who as Third Assistant Secretary of State has been close to Mr. Wilson's Administration, will not only strengthen the hands of the anti-Tammany Democrats in New York City, but will also sustain on the high level reached by his immediate predecessors the conduct of this important public office.

ANOTHER TRIUMPH FOR ARBITRATION

Three times within the last year and a half there has been a flurry of public fear because unions of Eastern railway workers have been on the point of striking—first the engineers, then the firemen, finally the trainmen. In each case alarmist reports that even passenger service might be cut off any day were followed by the news that the strike had been averted by an agreement to arbitrate. And in each case the arbitration has been carried to its conclusion and its awards have been accepted. This is a real industrial triumph.

Last week the award of the Arbitration Commission in the case of the conductors and trainmen of the Eastern roads was made public. This arbitration was the first held under the provisions of the amended Erdman Law. The Hon. Seth Low was at its head, and he and Dr. John H. Finley represented the public at large, while the companies and the employees had two representatives each.

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The award gives the employees an average increase in wages of seven per cent; this still leaves Eastern wages slightly below those of Western railways, but it is admitted that there are compensating advantages for the Eastern men. The added cost to the railways has been estimated at about $6,000,000 a year.

The increased cost of living was the controlling consideration. The workers claim that even the advanced wages will not balance the present high prices they pay for everything, but they seem very well satisfied with their partial victory. The arbitrators point out that the companies did not plead inability to pay. But the award does recognize "the dilemma in which the railroads are evidently placed by the laws which make it impossible for them to increase freight and passenger rates without the authority of the Inter-State Commerce Commission or of the Railroad Commissions of the various States."

Nothing can be clearer than that railways must have an income which shall make proper equipment, safety appliances, good service, decent and liberal treatment of workers, the employment of intelligent and well-trained men, and preparation for the future, all not only possible but certain. A reasonable profit on actual investment and business done should also be granted without question.

If this involves increased rates for freight and passengers, the increase must be permitted. It is for the Inter-State Commerce Commission to investigate and decide. One element to affect their decision is whether present methods are economical and efficient. Mr. Brandeis says they are wasteful; ex-President Mellen was quoted last week as saying that a railway president ought to work as faithfully for $25,000 a year as for $50,000 a year. On the other hand, the award of last week says: "At the present time a ton of freight is moved in the Eastern territory more than three miles for the value of a two-cent postage stamp." That does not sound excessive!

The railways have a right to ask that the increased cost of living argument should be applied in their favor as well as against them. The right and interest of the public demand that facts should be sifted and nothing be taken for granted. Under the system of National supervision embodied in the Inter-State Commerce Commission, this is now possible with railways. It ought to be, and some day will be, possible with all other large corporations.

AN EXPERIMENT IN CO-OPERATION

There was no "playing hooky" in Ohio on November 14; everybody was in school on that day, parents as well as children, even doctors, lawyers, college presidents, members of the State Legislature—in short, every one who was interested in the welfare of the State's schools and school-children. Governor Cox had set aside that date as "School Survey Day," and had asked the citizens to assemble in the schoolhouses for the discussion of the educational needs of the community, and for the election of delegates to the congress which will meet in Columbus on December 5 and 6 to formulate suggestions for presentment to the Legislature at the special session in January which the Governor has called for the express purpose of dealing with the school problem.

Last winter Governor Cox appointed a Commission of two men and a woman to find out how the schools of the State could be bettered. The Bureau of Municipal Research in New York City sent Dr. H. L. Brittain to aid the Commission, which undertook a study of the whole situation, enlisting the co-operation of the State Department of Education, the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Congress of Mothers, the Collegiate Alumnæ, labor organizations, and, in short, every individual and group of individuals that had suggestions to offer. Some of the more mature schoolchildren were consulted, and gave valuable hints on such practical subjects as the size of school-rooms, ventilation, the needs of playgrounds, etc.

Of the 1,370 schools inspected, which is not all that there are within the State, 957 were found to be without any township supervision whatever, and, furthermore, 600 schools were discovered that had fewer than fifteen pupils and 115 that were attended by fewer than ten children. These and other findings of the Commission are to be taken up at the Columbus congress next month, and ways will be considered by which the towns that are now without supervision can afford it in the future.

"School Survey Day" provided the first universal referendum on school matters ever held in any State. It was more significant, however, as the culmination of weeks of co-

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operation among the citizens of Ohio for a common object concerning the public weal. Governor Cox succeeded in arousing the same spirit that Governor Major, of Missouri, invoked successfully on his "Two Good Road Days" not long ago; both these executives have succeeded to a gratifying extent in making government a part of public consciousness. The four thousand gatherings of citizens in Ohio school-houses the other day were not so much school meetings as neighborhood meetings, and as such they furnished the dramatic and human element which is likely to make this experiment in co-operation appeal to people elsewhere until it is copied in many other States.

EDUCATION THAT BEGINS AT HOME

If government is to be made a part of public consciousness, however, the public ought to know something of the facts of the regulation of society. As a matter of fact, such knowledge is all too scarce. Probably most men and women now of voting age studied civics in a book that began with Magna Charta and then took up the other movements by which Englishmen worked out their political salvation, but remained maddeningly silent or vague about town and city management in the United States, concerning which the school-boy is apparently supposed to get his information at his mother's knee or through hearing his father talk politics with other men. Ask the average high school graduate about the Bill of Rights, and he will reply glibly enough; but question him on the administration of affairs in his own county, and the chances are that he will hang his head and mumble that he wasn't taught such things at school.

The Bureau of Municipal Research is crystallizing the movement to have the public schools teach children something about the communities in which they live and by which the schools are supported. Chicago schools have had Chicago in their curriculum since 1909, when Superintendent Ella Flagg Young substituted this study for eighth grade algebra to "make good citizens alive to the needs of their communities." In Newark, New Jersey, schools Newark is taught by means of pamphlets describing the local fire, health, and police departments, city beautifying, street-cleaning, public schools, and kindred subjects. In Parkersburg, West Virginia, Parkersburg is taught not only as civics but as English as well. The children are sent out to inspect the city departments, and come back to write about them.

Other cities have adopted various methods of interesting children in their own neighborhood and of teaching them to work for it. Winston-Salem, South Carolina, has a boys' branch of the Board of Trade. Juvenile street-cleaning leagues were started in New York City in 1896 as adjuncts of the Department of Street-Cleaning. Last summer nearly four thousand children were assigned to "beats" near infant milk stations and in public playgrounds, where they reported to health officers uncovered garbage-cans, litter on sidewalks, and blocked fire-escapes.

The Bureau of Municipal Research has found that "to make field civics really serviceable to children and communities it must be closely connected with public schools." The embodiment of such practical subjects for study in the curricula of the country's schools does not necessarily mean the displacement of the old courses in the theory and history of social growth—Magna Charta should never be forgotten. But perhaps such studies as eighth grade algebra may be sacrificed, if necessary, in order that future voters may learn how to be useful Americans.

THE NEW COLLEGE OF COMMERCE

New York is at last to have what it has long needed—a school, or college, of commerce. A member of the Chamber of Commerce has given $500,000 to that purpose, and suspicion has fallen upon Mr. Schiff, whose interest in the public welfare, in education, and in philanthropic institutions exposes him to this kind of suspicion. This gift is conditional on the use of four subscriptions of $50,000 each for the establishment of a commercial and civic museum, these institutions to be supported by the city.

For a long time past the need of the highest commercial education, both in college and in museum, have been felt by an increasing number of men in the metropolis. Although commercially the foremost city in the United States, and among the four or five foremost cities in commercial rank in the world, New York has been far behind the best standards of the day in the matter of commercial education. The extraordinary growth in enterprise and breadth of commercial activities which Germany has made since the close of the war with France has been due in no small meas-

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ure to the superiority of the education which that country offers her business men. The young German who goes into business has the opportunity of being as thoroughly trained as the young German who goes into chemistry or engineering. It is the partnership between business and science which has made Germany the tremendous power she has become in the business world. In this country, while there has been great regard for education, there has been a disposition to undervalue special training for business men, with the result that a good deal of ground has been lost; that there is widespread ignorance of commercial possibilities in other parts of the world; and that the inability of Americans to use the business opportunities presented in South America and the Far East, and other sections of the world, has become a reproach to the intelligence of the country. Mr. Schiff is quoted as saying, "Business is becoming a profession." He might have said, "Business has become a profession." "It seems fitting," he added, "that the leaders of business in the greatest business centers of the country should through their greatest business organization, the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York, aid in establishing a college of commerce and administration second to none in the world."

It has been suggested that the site of the old City College, on Lexington Avenue and Twenty-third Street, should be used for the purposes of the new institution; and that an adequate building, both for education and as a museum, should be erected there with the $700,000 already pledged. It ought not to be difficult to secure the money necessary to put this project into effect.

THE WAY TO RAISE MONEY

The campaign to raise four million dollars for the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association of New York City was cleverly inaugurated by the announcement that certain rich donors had already been "rounded up," and by their munificent gifts had made possible half the sum to be collected. The collection of the other half has gone merrily and successfully forward. The methods have been picturesque. Several clocks have been erected, some at very high altitudes, so as to be legible from a great distance to report the returns. The clocks are illuminated at night. Another interesting feature has been the use of the two thousand wagons in New York City belonging to the Adams, American, United States, and other express companies. The wagons carry this sign on their sides:

$4,000,000 BY NOV. 24.

Y. W. M. C. A.

Biggest Money-Raising Movement in World's History. The Fund Needs Your Help.

HEADQUARTERS, 25 BROAD STREET.

Still another feature has been the use of many show windows. One sees therein such signs as the following:

WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE

Y. W. M. C. A.

HAVE YOU?

The money should be forthcoming.

"LE GRAND PARIS"

Since Baron Haussmann remodeled Paris in the days of Napoleon III at a cost of $500,000,000 no such stupendous alterations as M. Marcel Delanney proposes have been considered for the French metropolis.

M. Delanney is Prefect of the Seine. His scheme involves, according to cable despatches, the widening of many streets, the destruction of unsightly shanties and the erection in their places of model houses to be paid for in part out of $40,000,000 already appropriated for this purpose by the Municipal Council, the limiting of the height of buildings to the width of the street on which they are situated, and the laying out of forty-seven additional public gardens, making a total of 128 of these institutions—or more than London has.

"Le Grand Paris," as Delanney calls his proposal, also involves the development of the suburbs, where there will be a sudden acquisition of space after the fortifications have been destroyed. A large appropriation has already been made to wipe out these fortifications, which now serve only to provide lairs for the riffraff of Paris; but the Prefect of the Seine wants a further $100,000,000 to construct parks and flowerbeds where the old defenses now are. He would convert the open spaces about the city and the hills of the Seine, Marne, and Oise Rivers into huge gardens connected

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by a promenade about twenty-five miles in length.

At present there are nearly two hundred inhabitants to the acre in Paris, twice as many as in London. The construction of "Le Grand Paris" would give the city nearly six times as much territory as it has at present, reducing this congestion and thereby lowering rents and the cost of living. It is worth noting that M. Delanney proposes wielding the power of excess condemnation, so often an issue in American municipal elections. By taking over more space than is needed for promenades and parks, and selling this at an increased figure when the improvements have been consummated, the city might reduce the cost of these improvements.

WHAT NEXT?

A SOLUTION OF THE MEXICAN PROBLEM

In a notable speech made last week the British Prime Minister announced that the Government of Great Britain not only would refrain from doing anything to thwart the United States in its Mexican policy, but would respect the right of the United States to determine the solution of the Mexican problem, and expressed confidence that the solution would be one of intelligence and fairness. He frankly said that this attitude of Great Britain had been very greatly fostered by Mr. Bryce, the former British Ambassador at Washington, who knows the American people and the spirit of the American Government better than any other living Briton. At this writing it is clear that the rule of President Huerta cannot last much longer. Whether he resigns or not, his Government, for some weeks hanging upon the mistaken hope of European and British support, must eventually fall to the ground.

But the fall of Huerta is not the end of the problem. It is only the very beginning. It is the negative part. The positive and constructive part is yet to come.

America cannot safely or justly leave indefinitely the persons and property of Americans and Europeans unprotected on Mexican territory. We have left them unprotected quite long enough.

We cannot safely or wisely invite the European Powers to join with us in establishing an orderly and stable government in Mexico. The spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, which this country is not yet ready to abandon, forbids.

We cannot safely or effectively intervene alone. Such intervention would be resented by Mexicans of all parties, by the Central American republics, and almost certainly by the South American republics, as a confirmation of their suspicions that the United States is a selfish and aggrandizing country.

The problem seems to be hopelessly complicated and difficult. We say "seems," because in our judgment it is very much simpler than it appears. We think there is a method of solution at hand which is practical, efficient, and open to none of the objections enumerated above. We state this solution briefly, as follows:

Let the President of the United States call upon Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, the three greatest states of Latin America, to join this Government in framing a policy for establishing order in Mexico and in sending a commission of four special Ambassadors, one Chilean, one Brazilian, one Argentinian, and one citizen of the United States, to Mexico to see that that policy is carried out. Let us in this joint way say to Mexico that the North and South American continents cannot tolerate the disorder in Mexico, which injuriously affects the entire world; that human life must be protected; that property must be respected; that the constitutional laws of Mexico must be observed; and that popular rights as they are outlined upon the statute-books of Mexico must be maintained.

It is said that intervention by the United States would create a long and disastrous war. Certainly the combined armies and navies of Chile, Brazil, Argentina, and the United States can enforce upon Mexico any policy of justice which those four great nations determine upon. Great Britain and, we believe, the European nations would readily and happily assent to this plan. It would not only stop bloodshed, pillage, and injustice in Mexico, but it would create throughout the entire length and breadth of Latin America the conviction that the United States has at heart not its own selfish interests but the welfare, joint and neighborly, of the two American continents.

The Panama Canal is about to be opened, and the United States is making every effort to promote friendship, for political, social,

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and commercial reasons, with Latin America. Here we have a great opportunity to put an end to an intolerable annoyance at our own border and to develop a spirit of fraternity and co-operation with the Latin-American peoples. We know the difficulties of concerted action by nations. We know that the European concert has often been sadly out of tune. And yet does not the idea of an American concert for the settlement of Pan-American affairs, which shall succeed in a kind of work in which the European concert has so often failed, appeal to the imagination as well as to reason and common sense?

THE PINDELL INCIDENT

There are two ways in which the foreign service of the United States can be viewed.

One is presented in the subjoined extract from what purports to be a letter from a United States Senator of Illinois to an editor of the same State:

> It is up to the Administration to appoint an Ambassador to St. Petersburg, but it is a position which, if offered to you, would not necessitate your losing control of, nor association with, your paper.
>
> Now, the idea of Secretary Bryan is, that if you would accept the place of Ambassador to St. Petersburg, and all the honor that goes with the position, you could resign in a year—say Oct. 1, 1914—and return to your paper before losing track of your business affairs, and yet have the great honor attached to the place.
>
> There will be no treaties to adjudicate and no political affairs to bother with, for the Administration will see to that for a year, and you would not be tied to St. Petersburg, but would have trips to Berlin and Vienna and the other capitals of Europe, and also Stockholm, and perhaps to Copenhagen, and all the attendant delights that go with such trips.
>
> You would meet with the delightful companionships of the English and other officers connected with the various legations at St. Petersburg, and would be socially and officially treated, as my letters to those abroad would serve you.
>
> I think you have a little daughter. Think what it would mean to her all the remainder of her life to say that her father had been Minister to Russia, and of all the honor and prestige that will go with it to the third and fourth generations.
>
> If you will accept this position for a year, kindly wire me at once. I have the Secretary on the telephone and am writing this letter after the most confidential conference with him.
>
> No diplomatic matters will be taken up during your service, and you will have all the honors of having been Ambassador to Russia; but if you accept this position it must be with the understanding that you will resign on the 1st of October, 1914, and then you will be able to, and no doubt glad to, return to your business interests in Peoria and your paper.

Senator James Hamilton Lewis, to whom the authorship of this letter has been ascribed, denies its authenticity, and explains that it is the forged creation of one of his former employees. He has said that it was based in part on the memory of a stenographer who had taken down some correspondence he had with Mr. Pindell, the editor aforesaid; but he does not give the true correspondence, or specify the culprit. If such an offense as Senator Lewis is said to have charged was committed, the Senator owes it not so much to himself as to the American people to submit to the public the evidence on which his charge is based. Whether the letter is spurious or not, however, it expresses a view of public service that many politicians hold.

Moreover, in a statement made by Mr. Bryan, the Secretary of State, this same view of the diplomatic service is reflected. After explaining that the President knew Mr. Pindell personally, his character, his ability, his exceptional fitness for the duties of such a place, and that Mr. Pindell did not seek the appointment, or anticipate that it would be offered to him, Mr. Bryan continues:

> In response to the offer he frankly stated that he would be glad to serve the Administration in any way in which the President thought he could serve successfully, but that he did not feel that he could conscientiously obligate himself to serve the full ordinary term of a foreign appointment, because he did not feel that he could leave his business so long. The President asked him to accept it for as long a time as he could stay, and he consented.
>
> This is a full statement of a matter which has been grossly misrepresented. The President will not allow malicious representations to interfere with his right to nominate to the Senate the best-qualified men within his choice for conspicuous and responsible positions.

According to this view, the fit person for a diplomatic post of such importance is not a man of experience in the foreign service of the United States, for Mr. Pindell, whom Mr. Bryan apparently includes among "the best-qualified men," has had no experience in the diplomatic service. According to this view, the purpose is not to make the public service paramount by selecting a man who will take up that service with the expectation of making it his prime concern, but to allow the public service to become secondary by selecting a man who will not be expected to let the public service interfere with his private business; for it is specifically stated that, in view of his private business,

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Mr. Pindell would accept his appointment only "for as long a time as he could stay."

That this view has been expressed with reference to the post at St. Petersburg, which more than any other diplomatic position in Europe calls for the exercise of wisdom based on diplomatic experience, makes the expression of it all the more significant.

Contrasted with this view is another that can best be conveyed by a brief rehearsal of the careers of men who have exemplified it.

Dr. Andrew D. White, who had been a professor of history, was appointed by President Grant United States Commissioner to Santo Domingo, then by the same President Honorary United States Commissioner to the Paris Exposition, then almost immediately afterwards Minister to Germany, then by President Harrison Minister to Russia, then by President Cleveland member of the Venezuela Commission, then by President McKinley Ambassador to Germany, where he remained five years, meantime being a member of the Peace Commission at The Hague.

Whitelaw Reid, after having twice declined diplomatic appointments, was appointed by President Harrison Minister to France, by President McKinley Special Ambassador to Queen Victoria's Jubilee, by President McKinley member of the Peace Commission that terminated the Spanish War, by President Roosevelt Special Ambassador to the Coronation of King Edward VII, and again by President Roosevelt as Ambassador to England.

Dr. David Jayne Hill, who had studied at the Universities of Berlin and Paris, and who, after serving as a college president, spent nearly three years in studying public law in Europe, and was then Professor of European Diplomacy in the School of Comparative Jurisprudence and Diplomacy at Washington, was appointed by President McKinley Assistant Secretary of State, then by President Roosevelt Minister to Switzerland, then by the same President to the Netherlands, then by the same President Ambassador to Germany, meantime serving the cause of international peace at the Hague Conference and on the Hague Tribunal.

Henry White, who had studied not only at home but abroad, was appointed by President Arthur Secretary of the American Legation at Vienna, then transferred to the Legation at London, then promoted by President Cleveland to the Secretaryship of the Legation, repeatedly acting as Chargé d'Affaires and representing the United States at an important conference, then, after being recalled by President Cleveland during his second Administration, reappointed by President McKinley Secretary of the Embassy at London, appointed by President Roosevelt to the Conference in Rome which resulted in the establishment of the International Institute of Agriculture, again by the same President to the important Algeciras Conference, then in turn by the same President Ambassador to Italy and Ambassador to France, then, after being recalled by President Taft for no reason connected with the public service, made Chairman of the American delegation to the Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires, and then Special Ambassador to Chile.

So we might continue with the account of the careers of such men as George von Lengerke Meyer, William Woodville Rockhill, Oscar S. Straus, and Thomas J. O'Brien. In such a list, too, should be included Maurice F. Egan, who was appointed Minister to Denmark by President Roosevelt, kept at the same post by President Taft, and has been retained in the diplomatic service by President Wilson.

In the careers of such men as these is presented a view of the diplomatic service of the United States which can be compared to that expressed in the Pindell incident only by the way of contrast.

According to this view, the allurement of the diplomatic service lies not in the opportunity of a pleasant sojourn in European capitals without undue interference with one's private business, but in the opportunity of rendering great service to one's country, and thereby great service to the cause of good international relations.

In the Pindell incident the President has been given an occasion for making clear his choice between these two views. It does not seem possible that there should be any doubt as to which view he will choose.

A SIGNIFICANT STRAW

A meeting of some New York State legislators was held last week in New York City, a meeting in itself not important, but which as a straw that shows which way the wind blows may be full of significance. According to report, twenty-six of the Assemblymen recently elected met, and fifteen others sympathized with the meeting, but were prevented from

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attending and telegraphed their regrets. These forty-one may be enough, if they act together, to hold the balance of power in the Assembly. And what gives significance to the gathering is the fact that they include men classed in each of the three political parties—Democratic, Progressive, and Republican—and that they met, as reported, to organize and to plan how they could best co-operate to rid the parties of boss rule and the State of corrupt government. Added significance is lent to this meeting by the apparently well-authenticated report that Mr. Glynn, the present Governor of the State, is planning to urge on the Legislature when it meets both a genuine Direct Primary Law and a Workman's Compensation Law.

There is really occasion for only two parties in this country, and there are only two fundamental issues; and these two issues are so closely connected as to be only different aspects of the same issue.

Lord Macaulay has well pointed out that there are men who are tempermentally attracted by the charm of habit, and other men who are temperamentally attracted by the charm of novelty. The first are conservatives; the second are liberals.

There are also men who are temperamentally attracted by the power and efficiency of strong organization, and other men who are attracted by the joys of an unhampered individual liberty. The first are Nationalists, the second are anti-Nationalists.

Generally, though not always, the conservatives are anti-Nationalists, the liberals are Nationalists. The conservatives think that the progress toward democratic government and toward centralized government, which has gone on simultaneously in America, has gone quite far enough. They fear that further progress toward a strong government will end in the destruction of individual liberty. The liberals think that individual liberty and the general welfare will both be conserved by a strong government, because they believe that the people are quite competent so to manage a strong government as to make it promote both the general welfare and individual liberty. This distinction, based on difference of opinion, is in this country somewhat obscured by the fact that opposition to boss rule involves not only an intellectual view but also a moral conviction; but in the main this distinction may serve to differentiate the great body of conservatives from the great body of liberals. The conservatives believe in government of the people by their representatives; the liberals believe in government of their representatives by the people, the representatives being merely the instruments for carrying out the people's will.

The various planks in the Progressive programme—the short ballot, the direct primary, the initiative, the referendum, the recall—are simply measures proposed to increase the power of the people in the government of the country. Not all who believe in such an increase believe in all these methods. If the Progressive party must wait until it can convince the people of the wisdom of all the planks in its platform, it may have to wait a long time. But if all the men in all parties who believe in government by the people, and therefore in a strong government, can come together to press forward one means after another which promises to make the government stronger and give the people more power in the government, the progress may be much more rapid; certainly the issue will be much more clear.

The agreement of forty-one Assemblymen-elect last week to devise means to overthrow boss rule is an important indication, and not the only one, that men of the progressive and Nationalist temperament are beginning to come together, not so much because they are agreed on the same measures as because they are animated by the same spirit and are pursuing the same end. It gives some hope that the day may not be far distant when we shall no longer have two factions in both the old parties, one conservative and anti-Nationalist, the other liberal and Nationalist; but two parties, one holding fast to the traditions of the past and opposed to any increase in the power of the people, the other inspired by hopes of the future and eager for a government not by the few, however chosen, over the many, but by the many, employing the few as their servants to carry out their will.

What is to become of the Progressive party as an organization we do not know. But we very much hope to see all those who believe in the capacity of the plain people, and in a government absolutely controlled by them, co-operating in a united endeavor for a strong government under popular control.

The meeting in New York is a straw which indicates that the winds are blowing in that direction.

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DR. WALLACE AND SPIRITUALISM

The very interesting article on Alfred Russel Wallace, printed on another page, The Outlook here accompanies with three statements of what it regards as fundamental truths which are either not recognized or impliedly denied by the opinions of Mr. Wallace as reported by Mr. Northrop.

1. Investigations have demonstrated beyond all question that many of the phenomena regarded by the spiritists as produced by unseen visitants from the invisible world have been the product of deliberate and vulgar frauds. Neither the philosopher nor the scientist is exceptionally prepared to investigate frauds. They should be investigated by a detective familiar with the tricks and devices of a certain class of criminals. The opinion of Mr. Wallace or of Professor James on the question whether such phenomena as table-tipping, slate-writing, and rappings are due to spirits or to fraud is not particularly more valuable than the opinions of other clear-minded, intelligent, and acute observers. These frauds must be eliminated before the verdict of the philosopher or the scientist is of exceptional value upon what remains.

2. We agree absolutely with Mr. Wallace that man is more than an animal, that he has a spiritual nature which distinguishes him from the rest of the animal creation, that he has specifically a perception of the invisible world, a clear recognition of the distinction between right and wrong, a reasoning faculty which enables him to deduce general laws from observed phenomena, and a love not independent of, yet superior to and master over, all the physicial sensations which accompany love. But it does not follow that he may not derive this spiritual nature by the process of spiritual evolution from the instincts and the passions of an earlier stage. There is much reason to think that this is the case. Whether it is the case or not is not a question of moral or religious importance. However man derived his eyes, he is now bound to use them in accordance with the moral law. So, however he derived his faith, his conscience, his reverence, his love, they are to be used by him, now that he possesses them, in accordance with the spiritual laws of a spiritual being.

3. The spiritual evolutionist by no means believes that development is due only to the struggle for existence, nor that the spiritual forces in man have been developed by a purely selfish instinct for self-preservation. Henry Drummond has shown very clearly in his "Ascent of Man" that the struggle for others has played as important a part in the development of man as the struggle for self. Neither of these two struggles can be left out of account by any one who is endeavoring to understand the problem of life. And Henry Drummond has also shown that the struggle for others and the struggle for self, working together, at least help to account for the development of man from a lower animal progenitor.

If, therefore, by Spiritualism is meant the belief that disembodied spirits communicate with the living through persons called mediums, then The Outlook absolutely dissents from the statement attributed by Mr. Northrop to Alfred Russel Wallace, "The religion of the future will be based solely on Spiritualism."

If, however, by Spiritualism Dr. Wallace meant the belief that man has a spiritual nature and is therefore higher than the animals, then we absolutely agree with that statement. The religion of the future will be based on the conscious possession by man of a spiritual nature which he is bound to use in conformity with the laws of the spiritual nature.

If future investigations should show that man is able to hold communication with departed spirits, that fact would not add anything to his moral obligations, though it might add a new incentive to him to fulfill those moral obligations. We are not able to see that so far it has furnished any such incentive to those who hold this Spiritualistic faith. If, on the other hand, future investigation should demonstrate that the so-called Spiritualistic phenomena have no connection with any invisible world, but are wholly due to material forces, that demonstration would add nothing to lessen the obligation of man to fulfill his moral obligations, and certainly would not deprive men of the great motive which inspires them with the desire to fulfill those obligations. Men did justly, loved mercy, and walked humbly with God before modern Spiritualism was conceived of, and they will continue to do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God if modern Spiritualistic phenomena should disappear entirely and the modern Spiritualist philosophy should disappear with them.

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MEXICO: A REVIEW

THE vast region south of our southern border has practically always known the rule of blood and iron.

Six hundred years ago the Aztecs, and four hundred years ago Cortés, and then other Spanish conquerors, ruled that way. The subsequent Spanish viceroys ruled that way; even Iturbide, hailed as "the Liberator" and priding himself on a bloodless revolution, found himself forced by rebellion in his own ranks to resort to blood and iron once more.

When, in 1824, the Republic of Mexico was definitely established, the blood-and-iron rule was still followed. The new Constitution was quickly disregarded. Though it provided for a presidential term of four years and no immediate re-election, there were no less than nine changes of administration within the first ten years.

Thus the first Presidents—Guadelupe, Guerrero, Bustamente, Santa Anna, and the rest—followed along in the old path of blood and iron. Even the more enlightened Miramon had to use it. In the transformation of Mexico into an Empire the well-meaning Maximilian was forced to it. Maximilian was executed in 1867, and—Mexico now again a Republic—the great Juarez died in 1872 without having established a real constitutional government, but only the semblance of that government resting on force. Then came Lerdo, who at first had a seemingly greater show of success. But the attempt to re elect him led to an outbreak of civil war.

Then, in 1876, came Porfirio Diaz. In some respects he was the greatest ruler Mexico has ever had. With the exception of the four years between 1880 and 1884 he ruled Mexico continuously until his resignation in 1911. He had distinguished himself in the battles with the French, and did as much perhaps as any one to put an end to Maximilian's pretensions. In 1874 he started the revolution against Lerdo, but did not succeed until 1876, when he was made Provisional President, quickly thereafter becoming permanent President. When his first term expired, he helped to elect Gonzales President. But after this presidential term, in which the country's credit suffered, Diaz was almost unanimously elected for the succeeding term. He now caused to be changed that constitutional provision prohibiting a President from succeeding himself, and continued his own presidency, term after term, until his resignation.

Diaz was the most interesting representative of blood and iron, because he well knew how to mask the fact. The result was that his thirty-odd-year period of presidential power saw a change from the rule by fear to one which had largely the appeal of reasonableness. He began as a practical dictator; he ended as apparently a constitutional President. He was not. Schools, courts, the Legislature, the elections, were under his really autocratic power. He had a way either of conciliating his rivals and enemies or of putting them to one side; but this was never done in the open if it could be avoided. He did this until almost the end with notable success, but when finally he was forced to lay down his power, at the age of eighty-one, he was broken in health, deserted by political friends of many years' standing, and was assailed as the chief cause of the Madero revolution.

What were the causes? In the first place, Diaz had slighted the conditions of the lower classes in his attempt to give the country economic prosperity—and it is undeniable that he did much for the material prosperity of the country. Most of the people of Mexico are worse than peasants. They are peons—half slaves. They have hardly any chance to hold land of their own. More and more an unrest had grown up in Mexico as a middle class came more and more into being and as a few reformers found voice. This unrest demanded reforms in the land laws. Secondly, it demanded the abolition of the arbitrary rule which had characterized many of the acts of the President. Thirdly, it demanded the restoration of a single presidential term. Fourthly, it demanded fair elections.

At first the Madero revolution did not attract attention because the President's military power was supposed to be invincible. Little by little it developed that the Mexican army was an army strong only on paper; and from that time forth the success of the Maderists was assured. At the beginning of 1911 the movement had attained sufficient proportions to cause concern in this country, especially as the seat of the revolution was just across our border. Hence there was a special necessity for our Government to insure neutrality—

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to prevent our territory from being used as a recruiting place for the Mexican insurgents. In addition to this President Taft and the War Department decided upon making a demonstration on our southern border, to show the Mexicans, other countries, and our own citizens that we were ready and able to act promptly and effectively, if need be, in the protection of foreign life and property in Mexico. Accordingly, our military maneuvers took place that year in Texas.

Though an armistice was arranged between the Mexican Government and the insurgents, destruction continued in widely separated parts of the country. By this time the insurgents held a large number of towns, and even had a force within a few miles of the capital itself.

The Government found itself so pressed that President Diaz issued a declaration of the Government's desire to make ample concessions. As to the request of the Maderists, however, that he resign the presidency, he replied, "To allow the presidency of the Republic to become the sport of the will and pleasure of more or less armed groups would not certainly conduce to the restoration of peace."

The armistice now ended, the Maderists attacked the town of Juarez. It fell, and the circumstances of its fall were tragic enough even in El Paso, the Texan city across the Rio Grande from Juarez, to call our Government's attention to the necessity of security for life and property in our own territory.

The Maderists continued their course with success. Finally President Diaz resigned. The former Mexican Minister at Washington, Francisco de la Barra, became Provisional President, and remained so for several months, until Madero was elected permanent President. This election was probably the fairest Mexico had yet had; but it was far from being fair in our sense of the word.

No sooner had Madero become President, in November, 1911, than his troubles began. It is true that he did not put down bandits with the firing squad, nor did he put people in jail and class them as outlaws just because they had some idea as to the advantages they should have. But he did three things which undermined his influence.

First, Madero put the members of his own family into high office; under his brother Gustavo the treasury was gradually emptied.

In the second place, Madero did not—and could not—immediately bring about land reform. Many Mexicans had supposed that laws would be immediately framed to help the small man to become a landowner, and to take away from a few rich men the control of the granting of privileges and concessions. These grants, under Diaz, had been made more for the benefit of private interests than for public welfare.

In the third place, Madero showed himself merciful when he should have been stern. He did not put down revolt, as Diaz would have done, with relentless immediateness. He thus brought upon Mexico a greater misfortune.

Accordingly there were renewed disturbances. In the north the insurgents against Madero were called Vasquistas because their leader was Vasquez Gomez. In the south the insurgents were known as Zapatistas because they supported the claims of Zapata. In the north the insurrection started with the mutiny of soldiers; in the south it grew out of the union of bands of raiders and brigands. Madero, alarmed on the approach of the northern rebels to Juarez, asked the United States to forbid commercial intercourse with that town so as to cut off the rebels' supplies. This absurd request was promptly refused, although our Government was very friendly toward the Madero Government. Our Government also forbade the transmissal of arms to Mexico. The net result to Mexico was that the country was in no greater state of peace than a twelvemonth before.

From one end of the country to the other disorder prevailed. Naturally the large number of Americans in Mexico, and also the large number of capitalists interested in Mexican industrial and transportation affairs, were impatient to see an end put to the semi-anarchical conditions. In addition, those who had felt that Mexico might exist as a democracy if the rule of a Diaz were removed were also disappointed at the seeming failure of the democratic plan of government which had been substituted for a practical autocracy. Any progress made towards easing the conditions of the peasants had not been properly advertised, and the corresponding disgust on the part of the peasants boded little good to President Madero.

As might have been expected, aside from the insurrectionists in the north and the south, the military element in the City of Mexico was not oblivious to its opportunity. Although the fighting strength of the Mexican

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army had been put at forty thousand and the soldiers were supposed to be well equipped with modern arms and ammunition, the Madero revolution showed that the President was unable to put more than twelve thousand men into the field, and even these were found to be inadequately clothed and were equipped with defective ammunition. But there was enough left of the army to constitute a formidable revolt under Generals Felix Diaz and Victoriano Huerta. Madero was captured and treacherously slain. This was in February, 1913. Though many observers at the City of Mexico doubted the possibility of disproving the denials of Huerta of complicity in the killing of Madero, the feeling in this country was that the Provisional President—for so Huerta had become—was not to be trusted. At all events, the new Government rested on assassination and treachery.

The new Government immediately met a stout resistance in the north, where Governor Carranza, of the State of Coahuila, took up the Maderist cause—the cause of constitutionalism—and declared that he would never compromise with Huerta. On the other hand, Huerta came to an agreement with the Vasquistas, hitherto the strongest force of malcontents in the north.

While no approval of Huerta had been given by either President Taft or President Wilson, Mr. Henry Lane Wilson, our Ambassador to Mexico, expressed his belief that the provisional Mexican Government was innocent of the charge that it had instigated the killing of Madero, and recommended our Department of State to recognize it as the most direct way in which to bring about immediate security. Ambassador Wilson's recommendations were disregarded, and he himself, some months later, was relieved of his functions. Meanwhile the Second Division of the United States Army had been massed in Texas under the command of General William H. Carter, who had commanded the mobilization of our forces in Texas the year previous.

Governor Carranza now formed a government of his own. He declared that Huerta's power would fall if the United States should recognize belligerency and allow arms to be sent from this country to the insurgents. Doubtless Carranza represents the few really politically educated Mexicans. But the trouble is that there is no Mexican people in the sense in which there is an American people. There has been no training for self-government. The question arises: Are there really enough Mexicans who can be called constitutionalists to secure self-government?

The pressure upon our own Government to mediate or to intervene became continually greater. Huerta indignantly spurned any such suggestion, saying, as is reported: "I will accept neither mediation nor intervention of any kind. . . . On no account will I make any compromise with the revolutionaries. . . . We are strong enough to bring about peace at an early date."

But his Government was not strong enough and there has been no peace. At the same time, Huerta has largely had his own way, first because of his own strong personality, which seeks an end by the old-fashioned brutal methods; second, because many landowners have supported him as the only man who stands between them and spoliation. The difficulty with the situation, however, is that the time for the old blood-and-iron policy as a permanently successful policy has passed away.

With the recall of the American Ambassador it seemed desirable that a special effort should be made to persuade Huerta to agree to certain measures of reform. Accordingly, the Hon. John Lind, ex-Governor of Minnesota, was selected as the President's personal representative and proceeded to Mexico, where he submitted the following proposals:

(*a*) An immediate cessation of fighting throughout Mexico, a definite armistice solemnly entered into and scrupulously observed;

(*b*) Security given for an early and free election in which all agree to take part;

(*c*) The consent of General Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President of the Republic at this election; and

(*d*) The agreement of all parties to abide by the results of the election, and co-operate in the most loyal way in organizing and supporting the new Administration.

The Government of the United States will be glad to play any part in this settlement or in its carrying out which it can play honorably and consistently with international right. It pledges itself to recognize and in every way possible and proper to assist the administration chosen and set up in Mexico in the way and on the conditions suggested.

These proposals were refused, the Mexican Secretary of the Interior, Señor Gamboa, declaring in behalf of the provisional Government that they were humiliating, that the provisional Government was absolutely constitutional, that it was in control of twenty-two out of twenty-seven Mexican States, that its eighty thousand men (a wholly exaggerated

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number) in the field could take care of the rebellion, and that Huerta should not be asked to pledge himself not to be a candidate at the forthcoming elections. Moreover, the Minister asked that we withhold arms from the rebels and maintain strict neutrality.

Despite this, President Wilson's opposition continued the same; he held that the Huerta government was not a *de jure* government because it was initiated by crime and founded on crime, and that it was not a *de facto* government because it had not the power to perform the most elemental functions of government. Accordingly, as intervention by one nation in the domestic affairs of another should never be undertaken if it can be avoided, and because in this particular case intervention might arouse against us the hostility of all Latin America, there remained to our Government the policy of "isolation." This was to refuse moral support to an immoral and incompetent government, to prevent the shipment from the United States of munitions of war to any of the Mexican factions, and to advise Americans to leave Mexico because the country was in a condition of anarchy, with no government able to assume governmental functions.

In September President Wilson appeared before Congress and read a Message declaring particularly that what our Government has done and should seek to do is "in fulfillment of its obligation to Mexico herself as a friend and neighbor, and to the American citizens whose lives and vital interests are daily affected by the distressing conditions which now obtain beyond our southern border."

This is all very well so far as we are concerned. But how about the rest of the world? Twenty-six other nations have recognized the Huerta government. This gave a sharpness to Huerta's intimation that our battle-ships would not be welcome in Mexican waters after the expiration of the six months' permission to remain there. Of course this was a defiance of the right of any government to exercise its privilege of sending warships wherever it might seem that its citizens needed protection.

But a more remarkable defiance occurred in October, when Huerta's soldiers seized over a hundred Deputies of the Mexican Congress and threw them into prison, simply because the Deputies had passed a resolution warning Huerta that if he did not give them protection against personal injury they would adjourn to another city and hold their legislative sessions there. Now Huerta's real purpose was doubtless not so much anger at this proceeding as because he wanted to prevent any interference by Congress with his mastery over the forthcoming elections, and Congress had already questioned the constitutionality of those elections.

The Mexican Constitution declares that the elections shall take place only in the time of peace. Perhaps Huerta concluded that his Minister's declaration of a supposed control of twenty-two out of twenty-seven provinces constituted enough peace for the election. But if he thus indirectly disregarded the Constitution, his action in imprisoning the Deputies directly disregarded it, for its first article guarantees the liberty of Deputies and Senators.

Under these circumstances the world was not surprised at the following message from President Wilson.

> The President is shocked at the lawless methods employed by General Huerta, and as a sincere friend of Mexico is deeply distressed at the situation which has arisen. . . . The President believes that an election held at this time, and under conditions as they now exist, would have none of that sanctity with which the law surrounds the ballot, and that its result, therefore, could not be regarded as representing the will of the people. The President would not feel justified in accepting the result of such an election or in recognizing the President so chosen.

The elections took place. As was anticipated, the political state of the country had become more and more confused, and on the day of the election it was seen that the various candidates for the presidency—Gamboa, Felix Diaz, and Calero—were sinking into insignificance in the Mexican mind compared with the fact that the old Aztec blood-and-iron policy, which had so long infamously ruled Mexico to the death of all hope of government with the consent of the governed, was now again enthroned in Huerta. A new dictator had arisen.

As every one knows, the Mexican elections have always been shams. The people at the polls choose electors, one each for every small district. These electors meet in the country towns and vote. The electoral college may cast as many as twenty thousand votes. Of course the enormous extent of illiteracy and political passivity gives the national administration and the provincial officials abundant opportunity of influencing the result. For instance, the Carranzists gave out what purports to be a translation of secret instructions

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from the Mexican Federal Government to certain authorities of the different election districts as follows:

In case any of the municipal authorities are affiliated with any of the militant parties you shall proceed to remove them from office with the utmost discretion. If that cannot be done, some prudent means must be used in order to secure a thorough understanding between said municipal authorities and the respective *jefe politicos* [political chiefs or supervisors].

Special care should be taken to appoint as supervisors and inspectors men who are absolutely trustworthy, so they will not hesitate to obey any orders they might receive.

If not too late, orders must be immediately given to the effect that polling places on estates or farms shall not be established at the towns where the municipal authorities reside, but on any of the convenient farms that may be within the limits of the corresponding electoral district, the main point being that elections must not take place in two-thirds plus one of the total number of election places.

In the polling places where voting may take place the blank tickets must be used to obtain an absolute majority in favor of the following candidates: For President, General Victoriano Huerta; for Vice-President, General Aureliano Blanquet.

Although Article 31 provides that returns of election must be sent directly to Congress, the supervisors must send these returns to the *jefes politicos*. The latter will then make a rapid examination of them, and if found to be in accord with these instructions they shall send them back to the supervisors, notifying them that the law provides they must be sent directly to Congress. If upon examination the *jefes politicos* find that voting has been held in more than a third of the polling places, the surplus ballots must be omitted, so that Congress shall receive only one-third or less of the total returns.

Absolute liberty must be granted to all citizens to enter protest against the validity of votes cast for any of the candidates except those referred to in the ticket named above.

If upon examination of the returns the *jefes politicos* find that the voting is not in accord with these instructions, they shall, before proceeding to send the ballots to Congress, make the necessary corrections, so that the returns and acts of the election appear in strict accord with these instructions.

After the elections the *jefes politicos* shall make a rapid résumé of data about the exact number of polling places where votes have been cast, sending a report to the Federal Government. That report must be made in cipher telegram on the same day as the election if possible. If not, then a letter in cipher must be sent through some absolutely trustworthy messenger.

These alleged instructions to render the elections farcical are so naïve as to induce one to believe they constitute some kind of huge joke.

While it is not supposed that the Carranzists as a whole are much better in their rank and file than are most other Mexicans as to their treatment of foreigners, the principle under which they have been organized deserves emphasis. It is the principle of constitutionalism. It is the principle for which Madero fought and died. It involves the seemingly hopeless task of introducing democracy among a people who for generations will not be fully prepared for it.

Belief in this principle is leavening a region of Mexico in which there is more hope than elsewhere. Its strongest hold is in the State of Sonora, the population of which has long been known as the most independent in Mexico. Sonora is in the northwestern part of Mexico. This State has declared itself independent of the Huerta government and is establishing itself as an independent government. The area of Sonora is greater than that of California, and, as it is a very mountainous region, the country can hold out for a long time against a large armed force. Indeed, owing to the topographical conditions, it is practically cut off from the rest of Mexico, having no direct communication with that country, its railway connection being with the United States. From Hermosillo, the capital of Sonora, General Carranza declares that his army has "more than eighty thousand men" under arms (such a number seems incredible); that all the States, except three, have been invaded more or less by Constitutionalist officers; and that after eight months of struggle the territory invaded has grown continually larger. General Carranza further declares that Huerta's power would instantly fall if arms were allowed to be sent from this country to the Constitutionalists.

Our intervention in Mexico would involve sending a vast number of men into a most difficult country, where the entire population would doubtless sink their differences to unite against a foreign foe. This assurance has come both from the Huertist and the Carranzist forces.

It is believed by some, however, that the preliminaries of intervention might be effective. That is to say, we might blockade Mexican ports and control the termini of railways. It is hardly doubtful that such action, if taken with the co-operation of the most influential Latin-American Powers—Argentina, Brazil, Chile—would have the desired effect.

The benefit of such joint action, not to Mexico only, but to both American continents, is discussed in an editorial in this number in answer to the question "What Next?"

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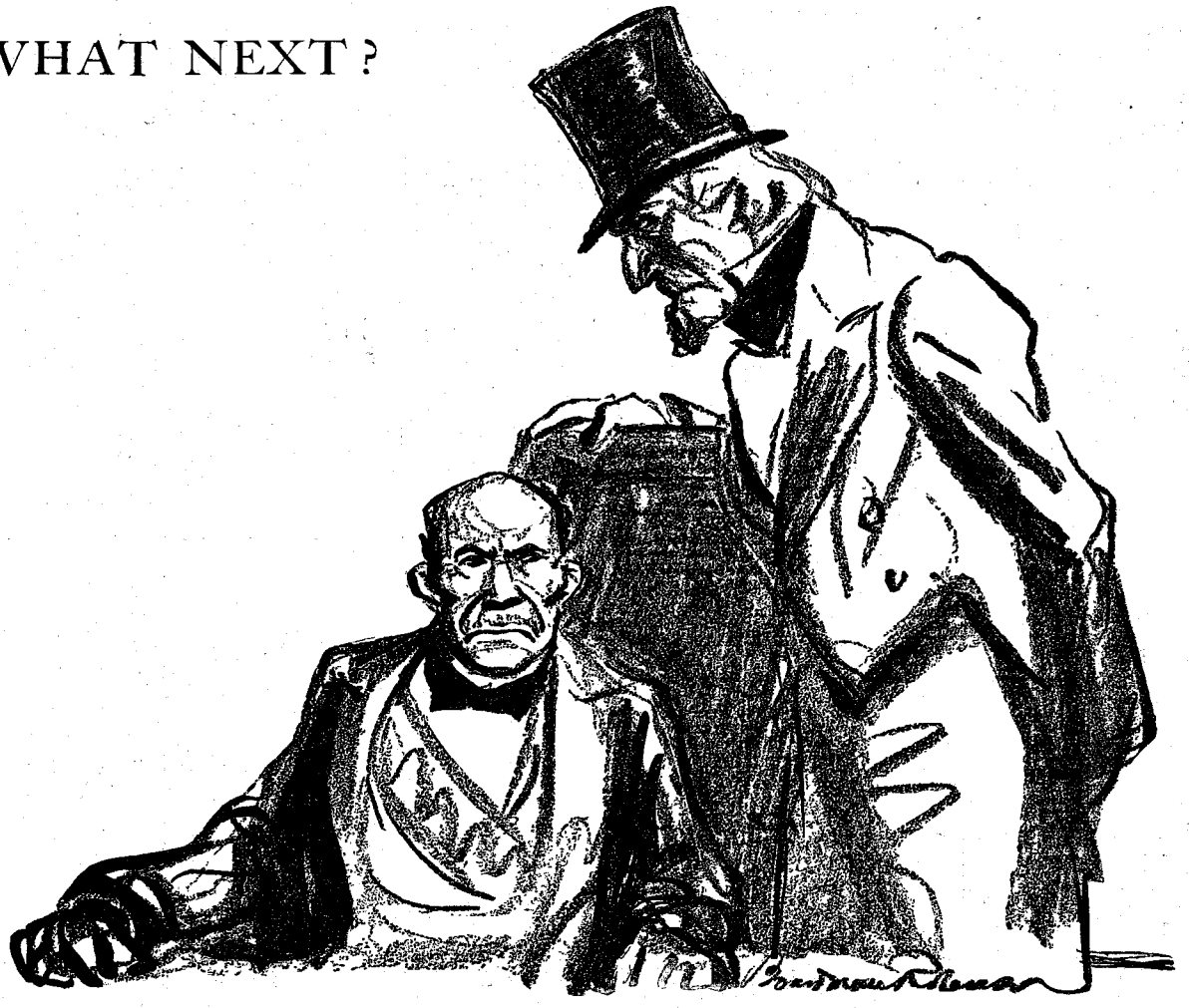
WHAT NEXT?



BOARDMAN ROBINSON IN THE NEW YORK "TRIBUNE"

HUERTA—I WON'T!

An answer to the question, What Next? is offered in an editorial which appears on another page of this number of The Outlook

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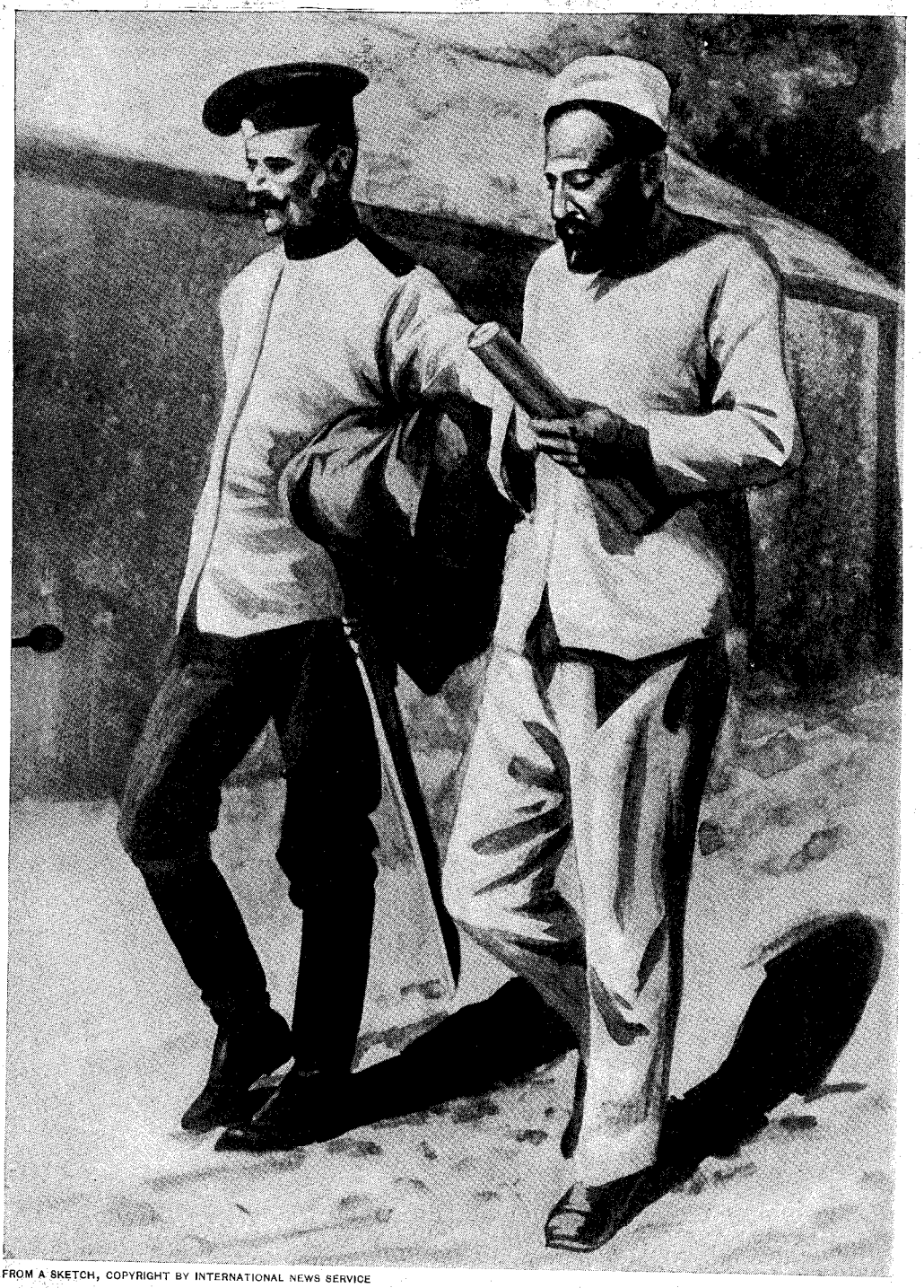

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MENDEL BEILIS AND HIS GUARD

During the famous "Ritual Murder" trial in Kiev, Russia. See editorial pages for an account of the result of Beilis's trial

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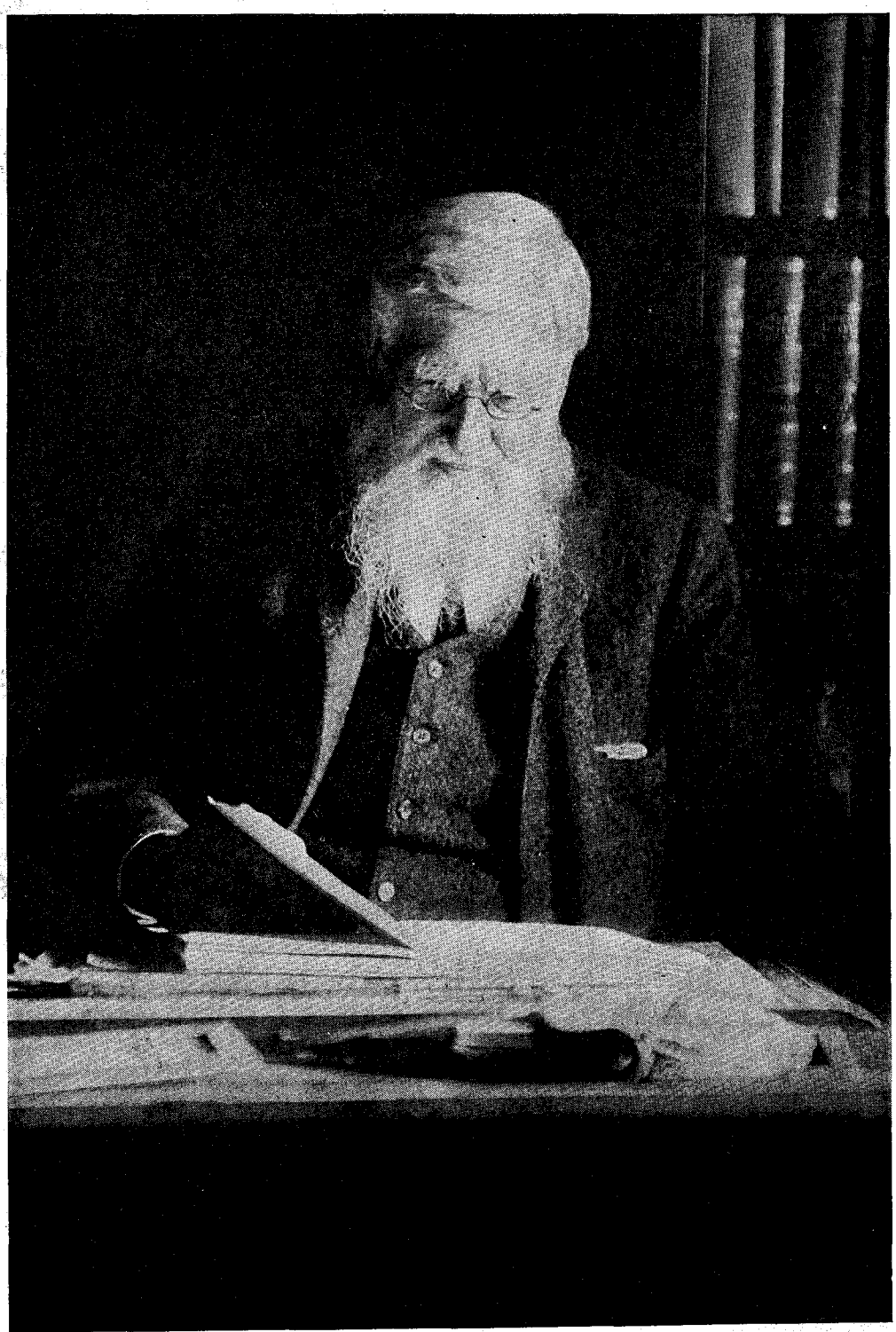

ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE

This photograph was taken at Dr. Wallace's Broadstone home by Mr. W. B. Northrop, the author of the article that follows

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ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE[1]

BY W. B. NORTHROP

DR. ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, the famous English scientific and sociological writer, who recently passed away in his ninety-first year, was a man of marked personality. It was the good fortune of the writer some time ago to spend a day with him at his country home in Kent, near Broadstone, and to obtain from him first-hand an interesting account of his own life, together with his views on some of the many present-day topics on which the versatile mind of the naturalist delighted to speculate.

Dr. Wallace, with all his distinction as the co-discoverer, or rather expounder, of the theory of natural selection—sharing the honor with Darwin—and despite his many other achievements in intellectual pursuits, was a man of great modesty. It is seldom that greatness in this world is allied to humility; but Dr. Wallace possessed self-abnegation to a rare degree. This was evinced early in his career, when his researches in natural history led him to conclusions in natural selection identical with those of Darwin. In 1858 Dr. Wallace was in New Guinea and made a careful study of the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago, a treatise on whom he forwarded to Sir Charles Lyell, President of the Royal Society. He requested Sir Charles to show his paper to Darwin, and the latter was astounded to find that young Wallace had worked out in its entirety his own ideas on natural selection. The reception of this paper by the President of the Royal Society compelled Darwin to "rush into print" with the "Origin of Species," thus receiving all the credit for the so-called discovery of natural selection. Dr. Wallace never attempted to deprive Darwin of any of the glory of the work, and when he lectured in America some years later insisted on paying all honor to his co-discoverer and friend.

Dr. Wallace's home life was ideal. He occupied a small tract of land called the Old Orchard, not far from the little village of Broadstone, one of the prettiest hamlets of Kent, about five hours' ride southwest from London. His house was of the rambling English country type, and stood on a knoll commanding a view of the town of Pool and its pretty harbor. Here Dr. Wallace spent the evening of his days, devoting his spare time, when not writing books and magazine articles, to raising chickens, gardening, cross-country walking, and playing chess with neighbors who chanced to call. Up to within a year or two ago Dr. Wallace had been assisted in his work by Mrs. Wallace, who helped to prepare all his manuscripts and to read the proofs of his various books and articles. Dr. Wallace, like our Mark Twain, did all of his work with a pen, and never cultivated dictating to stenographers or using a typewriter. He made it a point to turn out each day about six thousand words—a high average for literary production.

As President of the English Society for Land Nationalization Dr. Wallace took a keen and active interest in the crusade of Chancellor Lloyd George against landlordism. Dr. Wallace's book on Land Nationalization has recently sold extensively throughout England, and accomplished much toward educating the democracy as to the power possessed by those who own the soil.

There was scarcely a living topic of the day in which Dr. Wallace was not interested. He was a great believer in country life, and one of his dreams was the "demagnetization" of great towns. He believed that a return to country life was a panacea for many social evils, and lent every encouragement in his power to the efforts put forward in many parts of England to build "garden cities." The reading of Edward Bellamy's famous "Looking Backward" exerted considerable influence on the mind of Dr. Wallace, and it was the attempt to carry out some of the ideas of Bellamy that gave the learned Doctor the reputation of being an out-and-out Socialist. Among others who exerted a strong influence on his mind were Robert Owen, Adam Smith, and Ebenezer Howard. The last-mentioned person was the builder of the first English "garden city" at Letchworth, in which enterprise Dr. Wallace was deeply interested. He hoped by building numerous "garden city" centers near the big towns to attract most of the residential population away from the latter, and thus, in time, to de-

[1] Elsewhere in this number is an editorial on "Dr. Wallace and Spiritualism."

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stroy their glamour for the multitude. Congestion of population would thus naturally eliminate itself, through the process of "demagnetization;" that is, by the great centers losing their attractiveness.

The first occasion on which the writer met Dr. Wallace was the result of a visit following a request for an interview. On arriving at the village of Broadstone I was met by a tall, lank, broad-shouldered figure, with snow-white beard and hair, wearing a broad-brimmed hat of Western style and blue glasses which emphasized the pallor of the countenance. The suit of dark material which Dr. Wallace wore seemed a few sizes too large and the shoes looked particularly well adapted for cross-country walking. Though a certain amount of disregard of conventionality was displayed in his dress, there was no untidiness. Dr. Wallace showed no signs of old age except his white hair. His gait was a vigorous stride and his conversation brisk and full of human interest. He had walked over to meet me—a mile from home—and thought nothing of walking back, though it was raining with that persistent downpour so typical of the English climate.

On the way Dr. Wallace discoursed eloquently on the advantages of country life. He had lived in London for some time after his return from the Malay Archipelago in 1858, but in 1871 he decided definitely to shake the dust of cities from his feet forever.

"Since that time," he said on this occasion, "I have stuck to the country, and nothing could ever again induce me to return to city life. The life now lived by people in modern cities is absolutely false—not false in that it is not true, or that it is deliberately deceitful, but false in the fact that it is not the life conducive to human happiness. I believe," he continued, "that a strong reaction is setting in towards a return to more healthful conditions, and in order to obtain them the cities must be abandoned. I have traveled a great deal," added the Doctor, "not so much because I wished to travel as that I wished to study life under different conditions, and I am convinced that the truly happy life of the future will be that spent in the country. Life in the cities destroys the spiritual in man; and while it is true that more money is to be made in cities, and more creature comfort may be obtained, the materialism of cities offsets any advantage which might otherwise be derived in the centers of population."

On the occasion of my visit to Dr. Wallace he was asked to sit for the photograph which accompanies this article. He demurred a little to the ordeal, but finally consented, and while thus posing for the camera discussed the advantages of modern illustrated journalism. No subject seemed too small for his keen analysis, and his conversational powers were exceptional. With all his great knowledge on many deep subjects of science, he displayed no self-assertiveness whatever, and, though having pronounced and daring views on many debatable topics, he put forward his arguments without dogmatism.

On the occasion of this visit I asked Dr. Wallace to sketch for me briefly the principal events of his career. He said:

"I don't know that there is anything especially interesting in being born, but of course I was. You always begin with that, I think, in interviews. The day was January 8, 1823, to be exact. My father was Thomas Vere Wallace, and he died when I was eleven years old. I am of Scottish descent. I was educated in the ordinary way at Hertford School, where I lived until my fourteenth year.

"My brother was a surveyor and architect, and from my fourteenth to my twenty-first year I worked in his office. I enjoyed outdoor life, and the career of architect did not appeal to me. When twenty-one, I became a teacher of English in the Collegiate School at Leicester. My brother died in the following year, and I succeeded to his business.

"I spent some time as a surveyor on the railway, but, as part of my duty was to collect money from farmers in the neighborhood, I became thoroughly disgusted with that phase of life and made up my mind to abandon it. As a matter of fact, I never did take to business, my bent being more towards travel and science.

"I applied at this time to W. H. Bates, whom I met at Leicester, and asked him to send me to the Amazon River on an expedition which he was fitting out. I wished particularly to go to that section, having read Edwards's 'Voyage up the Amazon' and Humboldt's 'Personal Narrative.' My object in going to this place was to collect natural history material, with a view to solving the great problem of the origin of species. I returned to England in 1853, and wrote a book called 'Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro.' The following year I set out on an expedition and spent eight years between

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Malacca and New Guinea, writing a book on the Malay Archipelago and the 'Land of the Orang-Utan.'

"I did a great deal of work on the natural selection theory, and my paper came before Darwin in 1858. It seems that Darwin had been working along the same lines, and shortly after reading my paper he published his 'Origin of Species.'

"On my return to London, in 1866, I gave up traveling for a while and married the daughter of William Mitten, the well-known botanist. I soon tired of London and decided to live the rest of my life in the country. I have never had cause to regret this decision."

Dr. Wallace was, as every one now knows, a confirmed spiritist, and it was his research into the occult that, perhaps more than anything else, brought upon him much of the unfriendly criticism which he had to face in later years from his fellow-scientists. Like Sir Oliver Lodge and the late William T. Stead, however, he has not lacked the courage to uphold his opinions boldly with pen and voice, and his work in the field of psychical research awaits the test of time. Now that another famous spiritist, Dr. Charles Richet, of Paris, has just won the Nobel Prize for work in medical research, perhaps the world will begin to lend a more attentive ear to the subject of future life; a theme which for many years occupied much of the attention of Dr. Wallace.

In the course of our interview Dr. Wallace was asked how he first came to direct his attention to Spiritism.

"When I returned from abroad," he replied, "I had read a good deal about Spiritualism, and, like most people, believed it to be a fraud and a delusion. This was in 1862. At that time I met a Mrs. Marshall, who was a celebrated medium in London, and after attending a number of her meetings, and examining the whole question with an open mind and with all the scientific application I could bring to bear upon it, I came to the conclusion that Spiritualism was genuine. However, I did not allow myself to be carried away, but I waited for three years and undertook a most rigorous examination of the whole subject, and was then convinced of the evidence and genuineness of Spiritualism.

"The religion of the future will be based solely on Spiritualism. When great scientists like Sir Oliver Lodge, Professor W. F. Barrett, Lord Kelvin, and others are coming out in favor of the spiritualistic truth, it is time for ordinary people like myself to fall into line.

"While I am a pronounced Spiritualist, it is not exactly in the popular sense of the term. I believe that there is a great deal to be learned along lines of legitimate psychological investigation, and I am of opinion that many students who are pursuing these studies earnestly will, before long, arrive at some startling truths. Most scoffers will tell you that this is entirely speculative, but the well-attested experience of hundreds of investigators cannot be so lightly set aside.

"It was on this very point—the existence of spirit—that I differed so largely from Darwin. He implied that the nature of man—his mind and his soul (if he had one)—was derived from the lower animals, just as the body was so derived. While Darwin did not deny the action of the Great First Cause—most persons think Darwin was an atheist, but they do not understand his work—at the same time he believed that man's physical and mental structure developed from the struggle for existence, and that even the intellectual nature proceeded from the lower animals.

"My argument has always been that the mind and the spirit, while being influenced by the struggle for existence, have not originated through natural selection. For hundreds of years it was believed that the surface of the earth, with all its beauty, was caused by volcanic action, by wind, frost, rain, and rivers. Most people admit this, but scientists had to point out that the action of glaciers was also a cause for the molding of the earth's surface. After the glacier theory was advanced all the old theories had to make way for it. It was the same with evolution. It accounts for a great many things, but there is a limit to its application. Evolution is extremely interesting, and men fastened on it as the only explanation for all the manifold mysteries with which they are confronted. Evolution is true in part, but it does not account by any means for all the facts. I am one who believes there is something in man that is infinite and which differs in nature as well as in degree from anything which is seen in the lower animals. I believe that at a certain epoch of our life, when the body is ready to receive it, there is an influx of spirit, and our existence in the future depends very largely

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on how we adapt ourselves to this new condition when it comes before us.

"It is all very well to talk about the soul and the spirit and things of that kind, without any definite idea of just what these phrases mean. But, aside entirely from these considerations, I maintain that the theory of evolution does not account for many of the mental attributes of man. It does not account for our wonderful mathematical, musical, or artistic faculties. Who can claim that man has received these endowments from some lower animal which never possessed an inkling of them? Many of the lower animals, it is true, display a much finer physical and muscular development than man does. They are gifted with greater agility and endurance, and undoubtedly we have derived from them many of our physical attributes. But who can reasonably say that we are indebted to any of the lower animals for our high intellectual faculties? The gulf which separates the ant from Newton, the ape from Shakespeare, the parrot from Isaiah, cannot be bridged by the struggle for existence. To call the spiritual nature of man a 'by-product,' developed by us in our struggle for existence, is a joke too big for this little world. It was on this very point that I differed from Darwin, and it is on these points that I cannot meet the modern materialists who say that man is merely an animal and there is nothing for him beyond the grave. It is very well for us to try to account for the material on a mere material basis, and it may be very satisfactory to some people who do not seriously consider the subject; but, if the soul has come into being from what is popularly termed 'the struggle for existence,' how is it that in this very struggle for existence we meet daily with people who are making self-sacrifices, exhibiting wonderful heroism and disinterested affection—live men and women of the day who are actually spending their existence for the sake of others? If every one were merely engaged in the desperate struggle for existence, why should any member of the human family try to help along or support anybody else?

"Evolution can account well enough for the land-grabber, the company promoter, the trust, and the sweater, but it fails to account for Raphael and Wagner, Swedenborg, Newton, Florence Nightingale, or others of this character. The world has been moved far more by spiritual forces than by material and selfish ones. Neither Darwin nor Moses has yet conquered mankind. Life, with its mysteries of consciousness and personality, is still the dumping-ground of theories and dreams. Until science has demonstrated the existence of the soul man approaches death with an open mind. I hold that the existence of the soul and the presence of consciousness beyond the grave have been already proved. It is because the scientific investigation of psychical matters has become confused in the popular mind with the imposture of charlatans that indiscriminating people regard Spiritualism as a fake. An honest and unbiased examination of all the facts gathered by modern psychologists would certainly open the eyes of even the most doubtful of all the Thomases.

"Truth is born into this world only with pangs and tribulations, and every fresh truth is received unwillingly. To expect the world to receive a new truth, or even an old truth, without challenging it, is to look for one of those miracles which do not occur."

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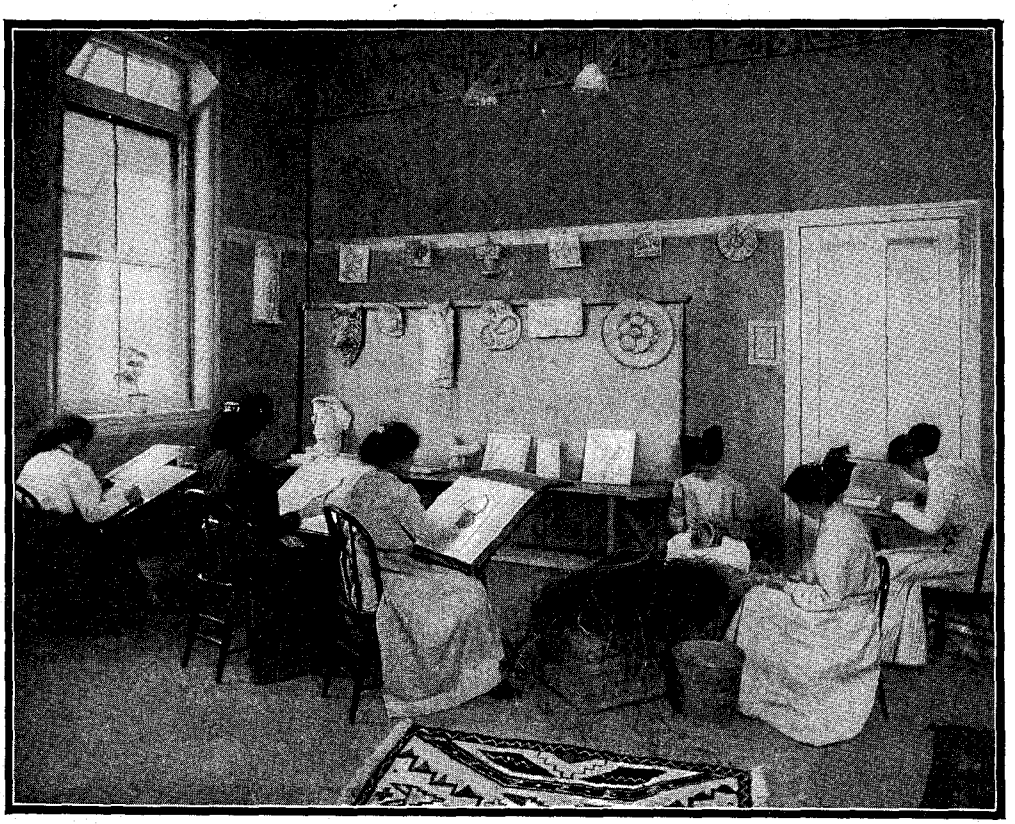
THE PERPETUATING OF INDIAN ART

BY NATALIE CURTIS

THOSE who have worked among the American Indians, and have learned to respect the thought, the art, and many of the religious ideas of this most interesting people, must feel a sense of almost personal gratitude to the present Secretary of the Interior for having appointed a Supervisor of Music in the department of Indian Education, whose duties shall be to "record native Indian music, and arrange it for use in the Indian schools."

This is a great step forward. Ten years ago a friendly scientist on an Indian reservation advised me that if I wished to continue my self-appointed task of recording native songs (which were at that time absolutely forbidden in all the Government schools), I must keep my work secret, lest the school superintendent in charge evict me from the reservation! I wondered at the time if I were in darkest Russia or in free America. On my return East I sent a copy of an Indian song to Theodore Roosevelt, then President, knowing that his literary taste would be instantly struck by the unusual imagery of the Indian song-words. In the interview that followed I added my testimony to that of others who had already worked to save from extinction the native arts of basketry, pottery, and weaving, and the President carefully reviewed the whole subject of the annihilation of Indian art and everything pertaining to the native life through our well-meaning but narrow methods of education. That Theodore Roosevelt should take up this matter with his usual initiative was perhaps only to be expected. But I have never forgotten the humorous gleam in his eyes as he said,



A CLASS OF ART STUDENTS AT THE CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL

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" How many Congressmen do you suppose there are who would understand that there could be such a thing as ' Indian art '? They will say, ' Another of Roosevelt's vagaries !' "

Yet now Indian art is officially encouraged by native teachers at the Carlisle Indian School, and imitations of Indian art-crafts flood our department stores; we have a troupe of native players presenting " Hiawatha " out of doors; the performance on our stage of Indian dances by an Ojibway maiden to the accompaniment of Walter Damrosch's symphony orchestra; at least three so-called Indian operas written by white men, and numerous adaptations of Indian musical themes to piano and vocal compositions. It is many years since Miss Alice Fletcher and her native collaborator, Francis La Flesche, began their pioneer work in the collection of Omaha songs; but the subject of Indian music is at last not only seriously considered —it has become distinctly popular. And so the Indian is to-day finding increasing recognition as a human being capable of bringing gifts of his own to the civilization that absorbs him. Mr. Roosevelt's appointment of Francis E. Leupp as Commissioner of Indian Affairs marked a turning-point in Indian administration. (Mr. Leupp appointed a supervisor of Indian music, even as Secretary Lane has done; but the office was discontinued owing to lack of funds.) Under this highly educated man and his successor, Mr. Valentine, the petty tyranny of the old oppressive educational system was at least nominally revoked at Washington. But on the reservations, where alone an appreciation of native arts and crafts might directly benefit the Indians, the old prejudice still prevails; for it will take some time to banish from the minds of isolated Government employees in remote outposts (themselves denied all intercourse with a larger world of thought) the old, deep-rooted conviction that they are there to make the Indian over into a white man as speedily as possible, and that to this end all things Indian must be vigorously stamped out—so long have we held that teaching Indians meant giving them something to copy, whether some form of Caucasian achievement or the white man *in toto*.

PAINTING BY E. P. SAUER WEN

A PUEBLO INDIAN WOMAN GRINDING CORN

The women while grinding corn all day sing at their work. Their songs are among the loveliest examples of Indian music and tell of the life of the corn, of the clouds that bring rain, of the fields in blossom, and of the ripened many-colored corn-ears

Fortunately, Mr. Geoffrey O'Hara, whom Secretary Lane has appointed Supervisor of Music, comes to his work with the technical equipment of a trained musician, and with a reverence for the traditions of the red man, an open mind, and an evidently sincere appreciation of the responsibility of his position. It is earnestly to be hoped, therefore, that the teaching of the *white teachers* may form an important part of Mr. O'Hara's activities. For many of these people are conscientious and devoted, and would respond to such help if it came with Government authority. And here the Supervisor of Music should have not only the support of the Indian Office at Washington, but also the interest of our prominent educators. For we Americans at large need to realize that our educational relation to our dependent peoples

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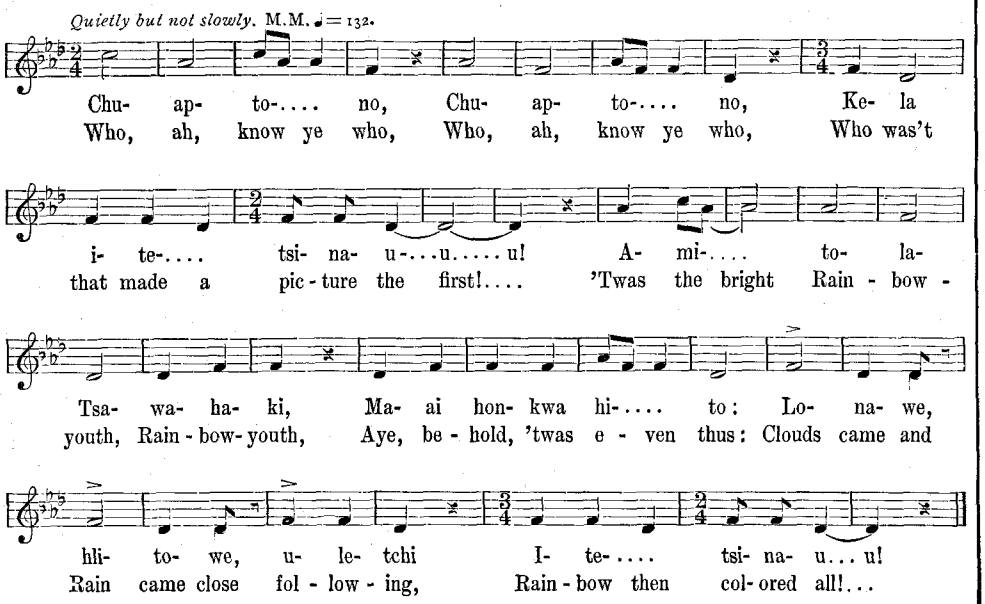
"SHOKO OTIÏKWE"*

CORN-DANCE SONG

FROM THE

PUEBLO OF ZUNI, NEW MEXICO

Transcribed and translated by NATALIE CURTIS. (Also sung by the women while grinding corn.)


Quietly but not slowly. M.M. ♩ = 132.
Chu- ap- to-.... no, Chu- ap- to-.... no, Ke- la
Who, ah, know ye who, Who, ah, know ye who, Who was't
i- te-.... tsi- na- u-...u.....u! A- mi-.... to- la-
that made a pic-ture the first!.... 'Twas the bright Rain-bow-
Tsa- wa- ha- ki, Ma- ai hon- kwa hi-.... to: Lo- na- we,
youth, Rain-bow-youth, Aye, be-hold, 'twas e-ven thus: Clouds came and
hli- to- we, u- le- tchi I- te-.... tsi- na- u... u!
Rain came close fol-low-ing, Rain-bow then col-ored all!...

* From "The Indians' Book," Harper & Bros., Publishers.
Copyright, 1907, by Natalie Curtis.

might include a reciprocal interchange of ideas. We may provide the undeveloped races with the means of adjustment to the life of modern industry and with the mechanical processes of self-expression, but on our side we should at least recognize the inborn racial ideals and inherited art impulses.

We understand that Mr. O'Hara is to seek to perpetuate among the younger Indians worthy features of the native life. This welcome effort cannot be too strongly commended, nor can it receive too careful thought as to the methods of procedure. The suggestion has been put forward at Washington that the songs collected from the older Indians should be "harmonized," and that these inevitably distorted versions should then be "taught" to the younger generation in the schools. Students of native life may well ask if this method of perpetuating Indian art will not defeat its aim. In spite of our systematic efforts in the past to destroy the song-impulse in the Indian, the native music is still a live force in native life; it is not only a sacred heritage (for much of the unwritten literature of the race is preserved in ritual of poetry and song), but it is also a natural and a spontaneous expression of thought and feeling. It is interwoven with the daily existence of the Indian more intimately and more inseparably than a white person can readily realize. The Indian has songs for nearly every act of life; every fraternity, religious, social, and military order has its own particular songs, and this is true of virtually all the tribes in the United States. Certain songs belong also to certain occasions, and must never be sung at any but the proper times. Again, some songs are owned by families, even by individuals, and so highly do the Indians hold them that a man in dying may bequeath his own personal song to another, even as we bestow tangible possessions. In spite of the multiplicity of songs, the Dakotas group them into two main divisions: "Songs made by the mind of man to please the ear; and songs that come in dream or vision from Wakan-Tanka, the Great Mystery." These

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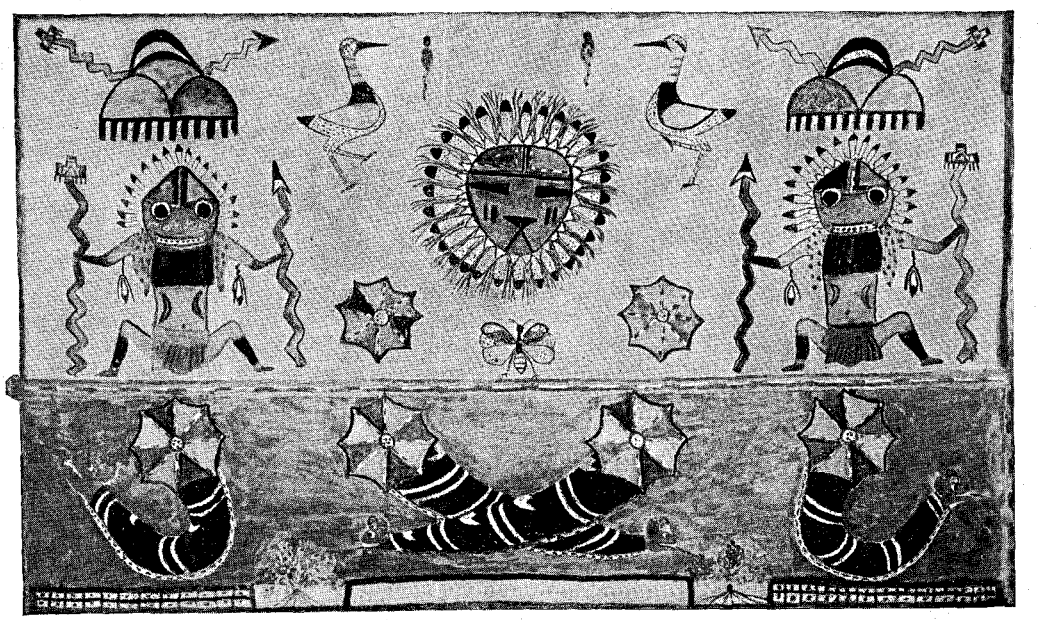
last songs are holy songs—all songs of sacred ceremony, of healing, and of prayer are of this kind, and may never be lightly sung. Into this world of primitive art, in which song goes hand in hand with the outward forms of active life and with the inner life of the spirit, we white people must enter warily indeed, for truly we have here little to teach and much to learn; it is a world where even those who have made Indian music a life study are but on the threshold.

And it is precisely this beautiful and priceless thing—the intimate relation of art to life—that the Indian Office should try to perpetuate. It is doubtful if it could be fostered or even encouraged by "teaching" the younger Indians adapted versions of the songs of their tribes, which they could themselves more properly teach the teachers. The Indian child does not have to be taught Indian songs; he has only to be encouraged to sing them. If, indeed, he has been taken from the reservation very early and does not know the native songs, he should be sent at vacation to his parents or the elders of his tribe to learn them correctly. It is just here that the white instructor can be of the greatest help, for he is now absolutely needed in the schools to counteract the benumbing effects of the old policy, and to be inspiring friend and counselor to both child and parent.

Art is of value in school, as elsewhere, as an effort to express in terms of outward beauty something that lies within. The music of the Indian is essentially such an expression, and new songs are constantly being composed—"dreamed," as the Indians say. If we would keep alive the art of the Indian in the coming generation, we must above all see to it that we do not kill the one thing without which no art can live—the creative faculty. And if we care not at all for this live issue, but only that the old songs shall be preserved, then it is of supreme importance that the traditional chants should be correctly handed down. Instead of harmonizing the songs, would not the Indian Office more wisely lay particular stress on their accurate transmission from the old Indians to the Indians of to-day?

To encourage in the present generation the creative instinct, and to urge the young people to learn of their elders the beautiful traditional songs which modern education has forced out of the life of the people—this is a task which would earn for our Government schools the thanks of all who are interested in American art and ethnology, and in the true progress of the Indians.



SAND PAINTING OF THE HOPI INDIANS OF NORTHEASTERN ARIZONA

These paintings ("dry paintings") are made with colored sands on the ground and are obliterated when the ceremony of which they are a part is over. This one is a symbolic prayer for rain and the fertility of the fields. The Rain-gods, black with the thunder-cloud, are seated at each side, holding in their hands the two kinds of lightning—the lightning arrow which strikes and the helpful lightning tipped with clouds and rain. The water-snake (from whose tail flowers spring), water-bugs, birds, and other creatures of rain, the sun, the rainbow, and the growing things, are all seen in this painting

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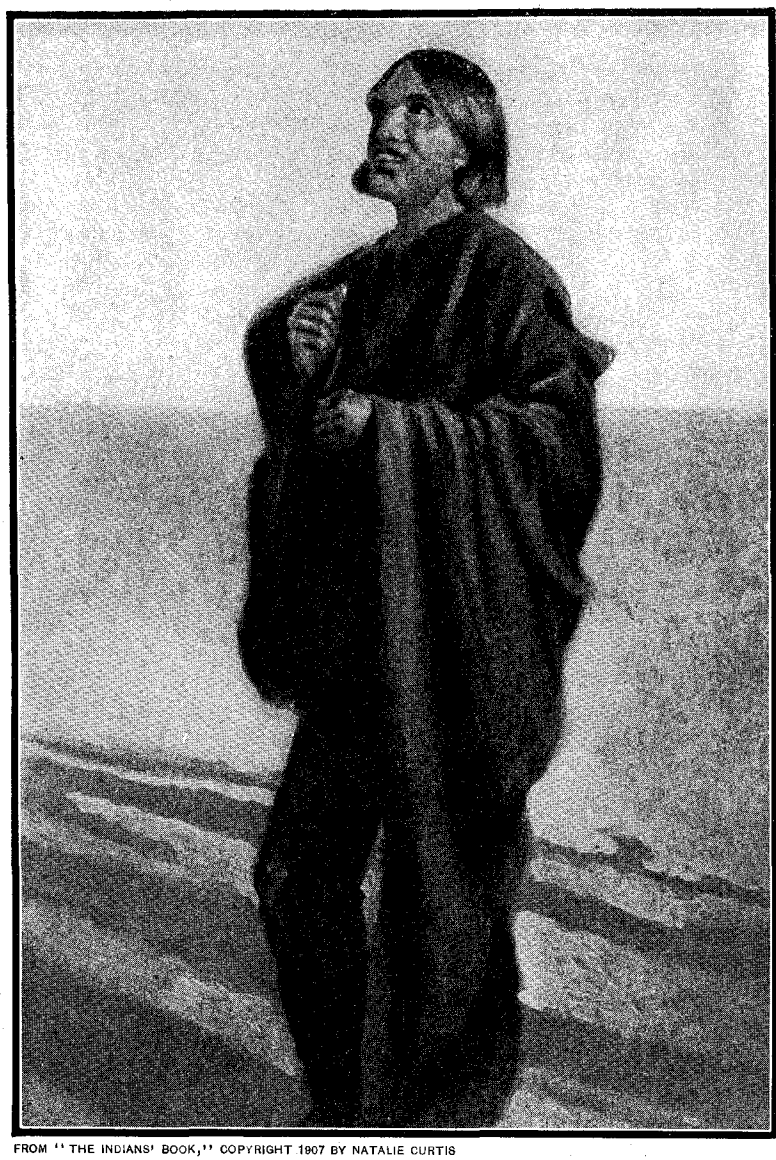

FROM "THE INDIANS' BOOK," COPYRIGHT 1907 BY NATALIE CURTIS

THE SONG OF TAWAKWAPTIWA

And such a task, if supported by popular sentiment, might be possible of speedy achievement, because experiments along these lines already have been tried and proved successful. At Hampton Institute in Virginia (a non-Government school) it needed but the teacher's awakening word of sympathy and understanding for the Indian students to come forward at anniversary exercises and public meetings and sing those tribal songs which they had themselves selected as appropriate. The songs were thus perpetuated in all their original beauty and interest, while, better still, the Indian was expressing *himself;* and modern educators realize that true education consists not so much in cramming something in as in drawing something out.

While collecting Indian songs on the reservations I made a point of visiting the Government schools. The Indians, as all know who have lived among them, will never express their feelings in any form where they are not understood, or where things sacred to them may be ignorantly profaned or ridiculed. Even the children have learned to hide the inner life of their people behind a mask of professed ignorance and impenetrable silence. Kindly orders from a white

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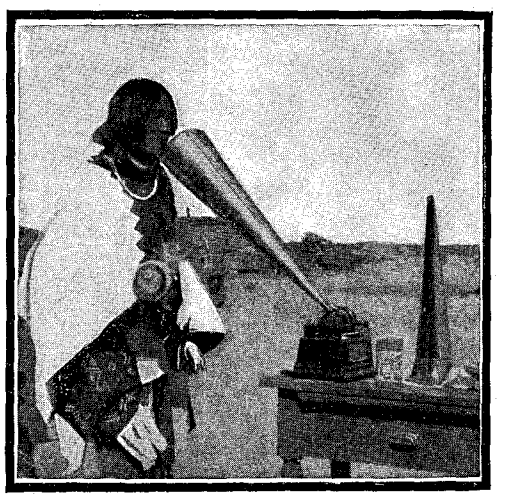
teacher to a group of Indian children to "Stand up and sing an Indian song for the lady" met with the stolid reply, "Don't know any." But, like a noble dog, the Indian is quick to scent a friend, and he gives instant response to the first word of understanding. Because I could sing Indian songs, the speech of the Indian heart, they felt that though I had a white face I was somehow "Indian inside," and before long the whole roomful of children would be singing. The youngsters always took the keenest delight in teaching me new songs, and their interest was thoroughly alive. I respected and loved the things that were dear to them, and the old people knew this too, for the children would say in leaving school, "When I get home I will ask my father to teach me more of the old songs." And this brings up a pertinent question: If any one should teach Indian songs in the schools, should it not be the *old* Indians?

It has always seemed to me a sad and unnecessary thing that the old people, whose passionate love for their children is such a strong racial trait, should be left completely out of all educational schemes for the young. They are the keepers of the tribal lore, of the ideals and strong stoic teachings of their race. In old days, the first thing an Indian child was taught was to respect the elders. But we have never considered that Indian parents had anything of worth to hand down to their own children. Would not the appeal to the older Indians still to take part in the upbringing of their children make for better brotherhood between the races, and certainly for greater happiness in Indian communities? What a warming, binding influence, as of something intimate and dear, the school could thus become—the "social center," indeed, which is now the ideal of our public schools.

The direct co-operation of the older Indians would surely prove the most humane and practical way to perpetuate art, or anything else inherent in the native life. And this co-operation was once tried by a broad-minded school superintendent who sent for a wise old medicine-man, a former leader of his people, to come and talk to the children at school, even as visiting white people do. The talent of the Indian for oratory is well known. The superintendent wrote afterwards: "The old man was a superb object-lesson in his quiet dignity. He made the finest address on Duty that I ever heard. The demoralized younger generation need such teachings."

I have never forgotten the bitter words of a Pueblo woman when I asked her to help me in my effort to write down the Indian songs for the sake of the coming generation: "Why seek to keep the old songs? Let us lose everything that is ours. Our children are taken from us; they no longer understand us, nor we them. They neither respect nor obey us, for they are taught to look down on us, their parents, and on all our ways. If change we must, let us quickly lose everything of the past. Then, at least, we may be happy in our homes!"

But, fortunately, we are realizing before it is quite too late that "the past" held treasures of an ancient and primitive culture that it would be criminal ruthlessly to destroy. And if our Government, under the present enlightened administration, wisely seeks to hold these treasures, it should surely bring about some definite co-ordination between the two great Bureaus in Washington that have to do with Indians, *i.e.*, the Bureau of American Ethnology, with its expert students of native life, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Indian Office, in whose power lies the entire shaping of Indian life to-day.



SINGING THE SONGS OF HIS TRIBE INTO THE PHONOGRAPH

It is sincerely to be hoped that the Office—the long-distance headquarters in the East—may leave untrammeled by detailed orders the musician whom it sends into the field to encourage native art. For only through tact, sympathy, and understanding can the shaken confidence of the Indian now be won; each reservation will present its own individual

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problem in the gentle art of making friends, and each tribe its own peculiar art-traditions, often different from those of other tribes. Just how he can best attain his aim should surely be left to the instructor to discover for himself through experiment and through friendship for the people. Those who have studied the Indians may all have suggestions to offer, like the above; but suggestions merely, for no prescribed course that deals with art, and thus with the spiritual life of a race, could possibly be dictated by any one.

ANGEL DE CORA-DEITZ
(Hinook-Mahiwi-Kilinaka)
A member of the Winnebago tribe, who, in conjunction with her husband, Lone-Star, is now art instructor at Carlisle Institute

There can, of course, be nothing of true value to the Indian in the white man's arrangements of his songs. The addition of a harmonic accompaniment may be necessary to interpret Indian songs to certain white people, but the artistic value of this mongrel product is questionable. Using an Indian theme as the suggestion for a musical composition is a very different thing from harmonizing Indian melodies and calling that "Indian music." The first effort is the legitimate province of the composer; the second—unless prompted by more genius than any of us who have tried it have yet been able to show—is neither art nor ethnology.

The majority of those Indian songs that are still free from white influence are not, strictly speaking, conceived in the major and minor modes on which our harmonic system was founded, and a literal overlaying of these alien melodies with European harmonies is usually as unsatisfying æsthetically as it is inappropriate. One can readily conceive of a great genius, with the tone-imagination of a Debussy or the harmonic daring of a Busoni, using Indian themes for the inspiration of creations of his own, and thus calling into life new, strange, and original compositions. Some of our own composers have already essayed this field. But the result is not *Indian* music; it does not and cannot claim to be other than the artist's response to an Indian idea. As such it is valuable, for it is music that is suggestive, novel, interesting, and sometimes beautiful. But no white person will ever write true Indian music—we must leave that to the Indians. Only he whose soul holds the images of star-lit plains, silent deserts, purple canyons, and the mountain tops at dawn—only he whose blood thrills to the pulse of the drum-beat, in whose memory the wild, free life of the open still calls, can truly sing of that America older than the coming of the white man, of that untamed land that was the Indian's "Earth-Mother," and of that proud people whom civilization could conquer, but whose spirit it could not kill.

It may seem daring to believe that the native Americans, who are naturally gifted musically, may develop their own art if we do not spoil it for them, and if we can refrain from corrupting the Indians artistically as we have already corrupted them in nearly every other way. But we have a right to hope for such a musical development because we have already seen the promise of a native evolution of Indian pictorial art in the work of Angel De Cora-Deitz, of the Winnebago tribe. This Indian woman, a graduate of Hampton Institute, was pronounced by Howard Pyle a genius, and a future was predicted for her along the lines of the white man's art. But she chose rather to be true to the art of her race, and in holding fast to the Indian's traditional decorative ideas, his love of symbol, and his sense of the meaning of color, she has

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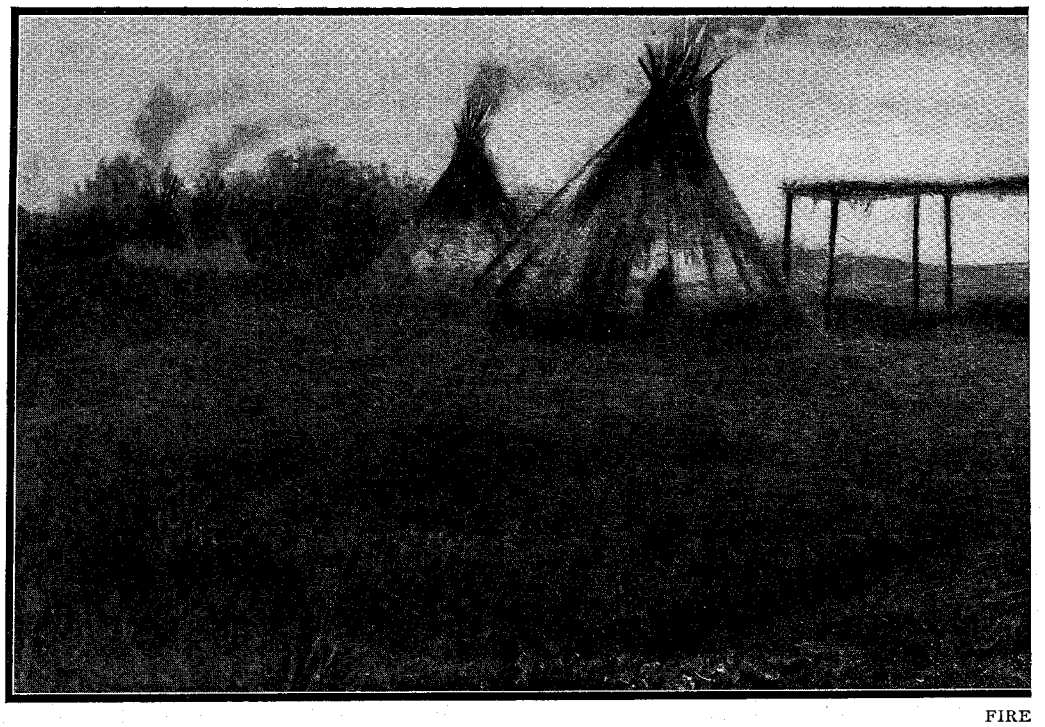

FIRE

This painting by Angel De Cora-Deitz is an example of Indian art applied to the modern style. It shows an Indian

inspired her Indian pupils at Carlisle Institute to the creation of a new school of applied design and decorative art, unique in that it is thoroughly Indian. No white person could have done this; he could never have touched the creative spring behind the Indian art-traditions, nor understood the living poetry of symbol that makes Indian art to speak. Yet the work of this gifted Indian woman is still but at the beginning, for years of previous "art" instruction at Carlisle (painting pansies on plush pillows, embroidering strawberries, drawing roses in red chalk, and carefully shaded kittens playfully emerging from unbuttoned boots!) had first to be lived down and obliterated. In time the example of Angel De Cora's effort may broadly permeate our teaching of primitive peoples, and we may now well hope that the next development in the lace-making industry taught to Indian women (one of the noblest and most successful of practical philanthropies) may be an emphasis on the beauty and value of original native designs.

The "Vanishing Race" is a coming people so far as absorption into our civilization is concerned. The Indian learns the white man's music and musical instruments with extraordinary ease, and there are bands in all the large Indian boarding-schools. When one considers that the musical tuition received by most Indians is worse than mediocre, the ability shown by the students is worth more than a passing comment. The belief that with the educated Indians lies a future for their art is no mere dream. The concerts of Negro music given by colored musicians at Carnegie Hall in New York have awakened wide and thoughtful comment, and proved abundantly that the so-called backward peoples have something typically their own to give to the world of art. This is especially true of the Indian. I once knew a young full-blood Apache carpenter who had taught himself three instruments, and the dream of whose life was to become a musician, that he might "write Geronimo's life in music." Richard Strauss was unknown to this child of Arizona, yet he outlined a complete symphonic poem while describing the way in which his native Apache songs should be used to express his people's defensive struggle "for their homes." Though our educational efforts are now wisely and necessarily focused on getting the Indians on their feet industrially, yet there are always the gifted few in every race to whom an art education can be accorded, reasonably sure of results. If we would indeed have real

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LIGHT

camp at dusk and in the foreground the silent meeting of two lovers, with the fire-lit tepees like glowworms in the dark

Indian music in modern art-form, let our Government, or some public-spirited citizen, give a scholarship to the self-reliant and talented Indian (I know one who nearly starved while studying music in Boston), and place him under a discriminating and sympathetic master—a master with enough genius in himself not to kill the native genius in the Indian. And by the time the Indian composer shall have arisen in civilized life (he is there already in the native life) our harmonic system may have been still further expanded by the followers of Moussorgsky, Strauss, Debussy, and Schoenberg, and America may in time contribute to the development of an enlarged system of notation that may include the possibility of correctly recording those intervals prevalent in the music of the Orient, and also the peculiar inflections and accents that form so characteristic a feature of most barbaric music.

Visiting musicians—Felix Mottl, Safonoff, Busoni—who took keen interest in our native music, found the melodies ill adapted to literal harmonization according to our present methods, and one of them said, "Barbaric music and primitive folk-songs, which are interesting our composers everywhere to-day, have helped to point the way to a larger development of our tone-relations, away from the eternal major and minor modes."

Our present duty is to assume guardianship of the culture-heritance of the Indian—and let us be better guardians in the sphere of education than we have proved politically to our "wards"! Although valuable collections of Indian songs have already been made, the field is so vast and the workers are so few that there is still much to be done. As the old life passes, so too are passing the ancient songs sacred to that life. While yet they linger in the memory of the tribal priests and chiefs, they should be set on paper *exactly as the Indians sing them.* We trust that such recording will form a large part of the duties of Mr. O'Hara, under whose supervision each Indian school might be induced to form its own library of Indian songs, accurately noted. In such work we should give Mr. O'Hara Nation-wide support; for this task science, art, the historian of to-morrow and the humanitarian of to-day will thank and honor him. For the whole subject of Indian education should enlist the interest and the best thought of our people, and it is hoped that these few remarks may provoke further discussion on the part of abler scholars.

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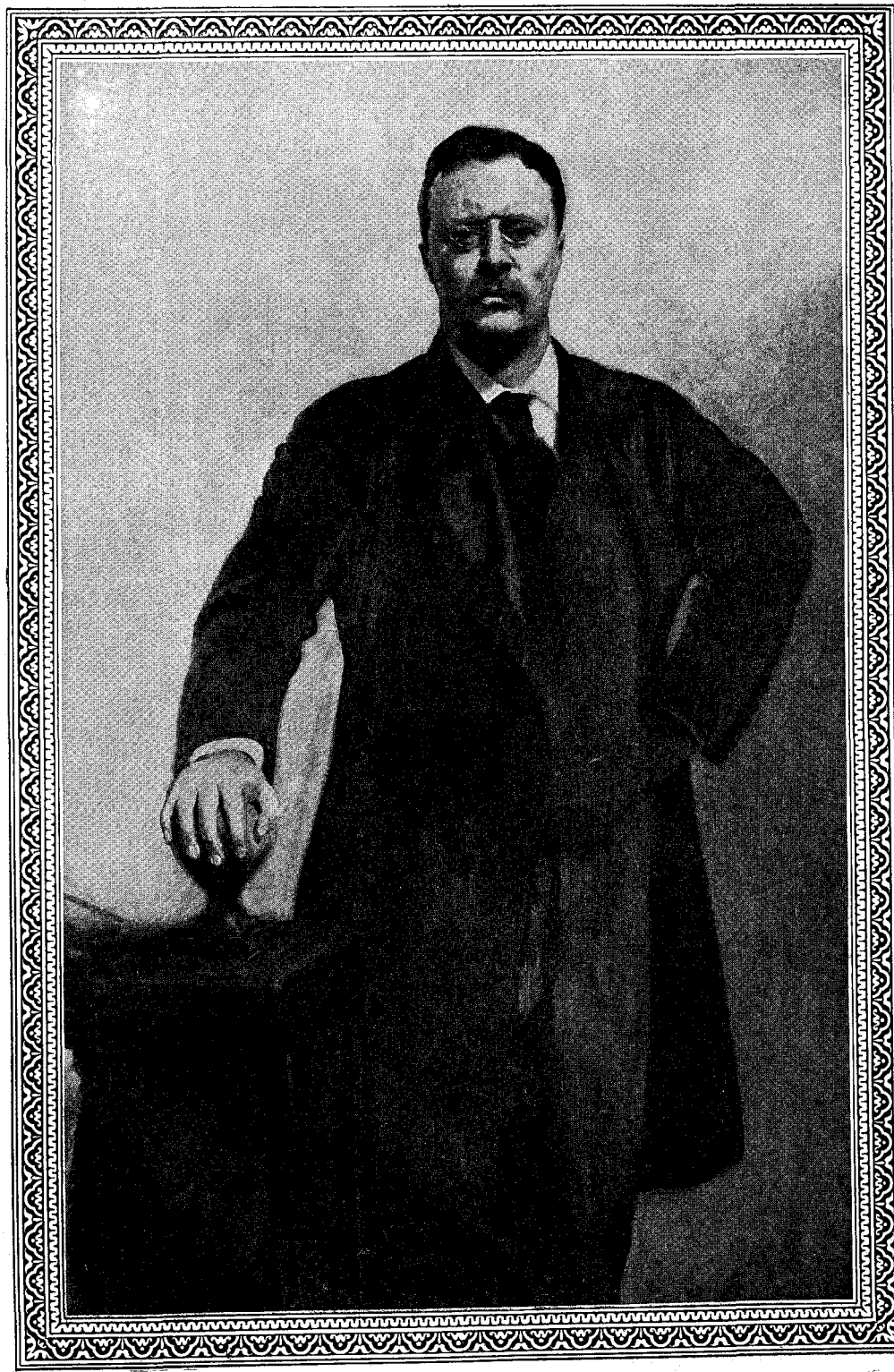

PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT

From a painting by John S. Sargent

This portrait of Theodore Roosevelt is at the White House

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THE PRESIDENCY: MAKING AN OLD PARTY PROGRESSIVE

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE TENTH INSTALLMENT OF

"CHAPTERS OF A POSSIBLE AUTOBIOGRAPHY"[1]

ON September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot by an Anarchist in the city of Buffalo. I went to Buffalo at once. The President's condition seemed to be improving, and after a day or two we were told that he was practically out of danger. I then joined my family, who were in the Adirondacks, near the foot of Mount Tahawus. A day or two afterwards we took a long tramp through the forest, and in the afternoon I climbed Mount Tahawus.

After reaching the top I had descended a few hundred feet to a shelf of land where there was a little lake, when I saw a guide coming out of the woods on our trail from below. I felt at once that he had bad news, and, sure enough, he handed me a telegram saying that the President's condition was much worse and that I must come to Buffalo immediately. It was late in the afternoon, and darkness had fallen by the time I reached the club-house where we were staying. It was some time afterwards before I could get a wagon to drive me out to the nearest railway station, North Creek, some forty or fifty miles distant. The roads were the ordinary wilderness roads and the night was dark. But we changed horses two or three times—when I say "we" I mean the driver and I, as there was no one else with us—and reached the station just at dawn, to learn from Mr. Loeb, who had a special train waiting, that the President was dead. That evening I took the oath of office, in the house of Ansley Wilcox, at Buffalo.

NO REVERSAL OF POLICY

On three previous occasions the Vice-President had succeeded to the Presidency on the death of the President. In each case there had been a reversal of party policy, and a nearly immediate and nearly complete change in the personnel of the higher offices, especially the Cabinet. I had never felt that this was wise from any standpoint. If a man is fit to be President, he will speedily so impress himself in the office that the policies pursued will be his anyhow, and he will not have to bother as to whether he is changing them or not; while as regards the offices under him, the important thing for him is that his subordinates shall make a success in handling their several departments. The subordinate is sure to desire to make a success of his department for his own sake, and if he is a fit man, whose views on public policy are sound, and whose abilities entitle him to his position, he will do excellently under almost any chief with the same purposes.

THE CABINET UNCHANGED

I at once announced that I would continue unchanged McKinley's policies for the honor and prosperity of the country, and I asked all the members of the Cabinet to stay. There were no changes made among them save as changes were made among their successors whom I myself appointed. I continued Mr. McKinley's policies, changing and developing them and adding new policies only as the questions before the public changed and as the needs of the public developed. Some of my friends shook their heads over this, telling me that the men I retained would not be "loyal to me," and that I would seem as if I were "a pale copy of McKinley." I told them that I was not nervous on this score, and that if the men I retained were loyal to their work they would be giving me the loyalty for which I most cared; and that if they were not, I would change them anyhow; and that as for being "a pale copy of McKinley," I was not primarily concerned with either following or not following in his footsteps, but in facing the new problems that

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arose; and that if I were competent I would find ample opportunity to show my competence by my deeds without worrying myself as to how to convince people of the fact.

STATE AND NATION

For the reasons I have already given in my chapter on the Governorship of New York, the Republican party, which in the days of Abraham Lincoln was founded as the radical progressive party of the Nation, had been obliged during the last decade of the nineteenth century to uphold the interests of popular government against a foolish and ill-judged mock-radicalism. It remained the Nationalist as against the particularist or State's rights party, and in so far it remained absolutely sound; for little permanent good can be done by any party which worships the State's rights fetish or which fails to regard the State, like the county or the municipality, as merely a convenient unit for local self-government, while in all National matters, of importance to the whole people, the Nation is to be supreme over State, county, and town alike.

THE NEEDS OF THE DAY

But the State's rights fetish, although still effectively used at certain times by both courts and Congress to block needed National legislation directed against the huge corporations or in the interests of workingmen, was not a prime issue at the time of which I speak. In 1896, 1898, and 1900 the campaigns were waged on two great moral issues: (1) the imperative need of a sound and honest currency; (2) the need, after 1898, of meeting in manful and straightforward fashion the extra-territorial problems arising from the Spanish War. On these great moral issues the Republican party was right, and the men who were opposed to it, and who claimed to be the radicals, and their allies among the sentimentalists, were utterly and hopelessly wrong.

THE DANGER FROM REACTIONARIES

This had, regrettably but perhaps inevitably, tended to throw the party into the hands not merely of the conservatives but of the reactionaries; of men who, sometimes for personal and improper reasons, but more often with entire sincerity and uprightness of purpose, distrusted anything that was progressive and dreaded radicalism. These men still from force of habit applauded what Lincoln had done in the way of radical dealing with the abuses of his day; but they did not apply the spirit in which Lincoln worked to the abuses of their own day. Both houses of Congress were controlled by these men. Their leaders in the Senate were Messrs. Aldrich and Hale. The Speaker of the House when I became President was Mr. Henderson, but in a little over a year he was succeeded by Mr. Cannon, who, although widely differing from Senator Aldrich in matters of detail, represented the same type of public sentiment. There were many points on which I agreed with Mr. Cannon and Mr. Aldrich, and some points on which I agreed with Mr. Hale. I made a resolute effort to get on with all three and with their followers, and I have no question that they made an equally resolute effort to get on with me. We succeeded in working together, although with increasing friction, for some years, I pushing forward and they hanging back. Gradually, however, I was forced to abandon the effort to persuade them to come my way, and then I achieved results only by appealing over the heads of the Senate and House leaders to the people, who were the masters of both of us.

GETTING RESULTS

I continued in this way to get results until almost the close of my term; and the Republican party became once more the progressive and indeed the fairly radical progressive party of the Nation. When my successor was chosen, however, the leaders of the House and Senate, or most of them, felt that it was safe to come to a break with me, and the last or short session of Congress, held between the election of my successor and his inauguration four months later, saw a series of contests between the majorities in the two houses of Congress and the President—myself—quite as bitter as if they and I had belonged to opposite political parties. However, I held my own. I was not able to push through the legislation I desired during these four months, but I was able to prevent them doing anything I did not desire, or undoing anything that I had already succeeded in getting done.

FAITHFUL PUBLIC SERVANTS

There were, of course, many Senators and members of the lower house with whom up to the very last I continued to work in hearty accord, and with a growing understanding. I have not the space to enumerate,

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MRS. THEODORE ROOSEVELT

From a painting by Theobald Chartran

as I would like to, these men. For many years Senator Lodge had been my close personal and political friend, with whom I discussed all public questions that arose, usually with agreement; and our intimately close relations were of course unchanged by my entry into the White House. He was of all our public men the man who had made the closest and wisest study of our foreign relations, and more clearly than almost any other man he understood the vital fact that the efficiency of our navy conditioned our National efficiency in foreign affairs. Anything relating to our international relations, from Panama and the navy to the Alaskan boundary question, the Algeciras negotiations, or the peace of Portsmouth, I was certain to discuss with Senator Lodge and also with certain other members of Congress, such as Senator Turner, of Washington, and Representative Hitt, of Illinois. Anything relating to labor legislation and to measures for control-

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ling big business or efficiently regulating the giant railway systems I was certain to discuss with Senator Dolliver or Congressman Hepburn or Congressman Cooper. With men like Senator Beveridge, Congressman (afterwards Senator) Dixon, and Congressman Murdock I was apt to discuss pretty nearly everything relating to either our internal or our external affairs. There were many, many others. Senator Clark, of Arkansas, was as fearless and high-minded a representative of the people of the United States as I ever dealt with. He was one of the men who combined loyalty to his own State with an equally keen loyalty to the people of all the United States. He was politically opposed to me; but when the interests of the country were at stake, he was incapable of considering party differences; and this was especially his attitude in international matters—including certain treaties which most of his party colleagues, with narrow lack of patriotism, and complete subordination of National to factional interest, opposed. I have never anywhere met finer, more faithful, more disinterested, and more loyal public servants than Senator O. H. Platt, a Republican, from Connecticut, and Senator Cockrell, a Democrat, from Missouri. They were already old men when I came to the Presidency; and doubtless there were points on which I seemed to them to be extreme and radical; but eventually they found that our motives and beliefs were the same, and they did all in their power to help any movement that was for the interest of our people as a whole. I had met them when I was Civil Service Commissioner and Assistant Secretary of the Navy. All I ever had to do with either was to convince him that a given measure I championed was right, and he then at once did all he could to have it put into effect. If I could not convince them, why! that was my fault, or my misfortune; but if I could convince them, I never had to think again as to whether they would or would not support me.

"IF I LIKE IT, I'LL BUY IT"

There were many other men of mark in both houses with whom I could work on some points, whereas on others we had to differ. There was one powerful leader—a burly, forceful man, of admirable traits—who had, however, been trained in the post-bellum school of business and politics, so that his attitude towards life, quite unconsciously, reminded me a little of Artemus Ward's view of the Tower of London—"If I like it, I'll buy it." There was a big governmental job in which this leader was much interested, and in reference to which he always wished me to consult a man whom he trusted, whom I will call Pitt Rodney. One day I answered him, "The trouble with Rodney is that he mis-estimates his relations to cosmos;" to which he responded, "Cosmos—Cosmos? Never heard of him. You stick to Rodney. He's your man!"

HELP FROM OUTSIDE

Outside of the public servants there were multitudes of men, in newspaper offices, in magazine offices, in business or the professions or on farm or in shops, who actively supported the policies for which I stood and did work of genuine leadership which was quite as effective as any work done by men in public office. Without the active support of these men I would have been powerless. In particular, the leading newspaper correspondents at Washington were as a whole a singularly able, trustworthy, and public-spirited body of men, and the most useful of all agents in the fight for efficient and decent government.

EFFICIENT WORK

As for the men under me in executive office, I could not overstate the debt of gratitude I owe them. From the heads of the departments, the Cabinet officers, down, the most striking feature of the Administration was the devoted, zealous, and efficient work that was done as soon as it became understood that the one bond of interest among all of us was the desire to make the Government the most effective instrument in advancing the interests of the people as a whole, the interests of the average men and women of the United States and of their children. I do not think I overstate the case when I say that most of the men who did the best work under me felt that ours was a partnership, that we all stood on the same level of purpose and service, and that it mattered not what position any one of us held so long as in that position he gave the very best that was in him.

THE TENNIS CABINET, AND OTHERS

We worked very hard; but I made a point of getting a couple of hours off

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each day for equally vigorous play. The men with whom I then played, whom we laughingly grew to call the "Tennis Cabinet," have been mentioned in a previous chapter in connection with the gift they gave me at the last breakfast which they took at the White House. There were many others in the public service under me with whom I happened not to play, but who did their share of our common work just as effectively as it was done by us who did play. Of course nothing could have been done in my Administration if it had not been for the zeal, intelligence, masterful ability, and downright hard labor of these men in countless positions under me. I was helpless to do anything except as my thoughts and orders were translated into action by them; and, moreover, each of them, as he grew specially fit for his job, used to suggest to me the right thought to have, and the right order to give, concerning that job. It is of course hard for me to speak with cold and dispassionate partiality of these men, who were as close to me as were the men of my regiment. But the outside observers best fitted to pass judgment about them felt as I did.

PRAISE FROM MR. BRYCE

At the end of my Administration Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador, told me that in a long life, during which he had studied intimately the government of many different countries, he had never in any country seen a more eager, high-minded, and efficient set of public servants, men more useful and more creditable to their country, than the men then doing the work of the American Government in Washington and in the field. I repeat this statement with the permission of Mr. Bryce.

At about the same time, or a little before, in the spring of 1908, there appeared in the English "Fortnightly Review" an article, evidently by a competent eye-witness, setting forth more in detail the same views to which the British Ambassador thus privately gave expression. It was in part as follows:

"Mr. Roosevelt has gathered around him a body of public servants who are nowhere surpassed, I question whether they are anywhere equaled, for efficiency, self-sacrifice, and an absolute devotion to their country's interests. Many of them are poor men, without private means, who have voluntarily abandoned high professional ambitions and turned their backs on the rewards of business to serve their country on salaries that are not merely inadequate, but indecently so. There is not one of them who is not constantly assailed by offers of positions in the world of commerce, finance, and the law that would satisfy every material ambition with which he began life. There is not one of them who could not, if he chose, earn outside Washington from ten to twenty times the income on which he economizes as a state official. But these men are as indifferent to money and to the power that money brings as to the allurements of Newport and New York, or to merely personal distinctions, or to the commercialized ideals which the great bulk of their fellow-countrymen accept without question. They are content, and more than content, to sink themselves in the National service without a thought of private advancement, and often at a heavy sacrifice of worldly honors, and to toil on . . . sustained by their own native impulse to make of patriotism an efficient instrument of public betterment."

THE DIPLOMATS

The American public rarely appreciates the high quality of the work done by some of our diplomats—work, usually entirely unnoticed and unrewarded, which redounds to the interest and the honor of all of us. The most useful man in the entire diplomatic service, during my Presidency, and for many years before, was Henry White; and I say this having in mind the high quality of work done by such admirable Ambassadors and Ministers as Bacon, Meyer, Straus, O'Brien, Rockhill, and Egan, to name only a few among many. When I left the Presidency, White was Ambassador to France; shortly afterwards he was removed by Mr. Taft, for reasons unconnected with the good of the service.

BROADENING THE USE OF EXECUTIVE POWER

The most important factor in getting the right spirit in my Administration, next to the insistence upon courage, honesty, and a genuine democracy of desire to serve the plain people, was my insistence upon the theory that the executive power was limited only by specific restrictions and prohibitions appearing in the Constitution or imposed by the Congress under its Constitutional powers. My view was that every executive officer, and above all every executive officer in high position, was a steward of the people bound actively and affirmatively to do all he could for the people, and not to content himself with the negative merit of keeping his talents

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undamaged in a napkin. I declined to adopt the view that what was imperatively necessary for the Nation could not be done by the President unless he could find some specific authorization to do it. My belief was that it was not only his right but his duty to do anything that the needs of the Nation demanded unless such action was forbidden by the Constitution or by the laws. Under this interpretation of executive power I did and caused to be done many things not previously done by the President and the heads of the departments. I did not usurp power, but I did greatly broaden the use of executive power. In other words, I acted for the public welfare, I acted for the common well-being of all our people, whenever and in whatever manner was necessary, unless prevented by direct constitutional or legislative prohibition.

NOT FORM BUT SUBSTANCE

I did not care a rap for the mere form and show of power; I cared immensely for the use that could be made of the substance. The Senate at one time objected to my communicating with them in printing, preferring the expensive, foolish, and laborious practice of writing out the messages by hand. It was not possible to return to the outworn archaism of hand-writing; but we endeavored to have the printing made as pretty as possible. Whether I communicated with the Congress in writing or by word of mouth, and whether the writing was by a machine or a pen, were equally, and absolutely, unimportant matters. The importance lay in what I said and in the heed paid to what I said. So as to my meeting and consulting Senators, Congressmen, politicians, financiers, and labor men. I consulted all who wished to see me; and if I wished to see any one, I sent for him; and where the consultation took place was a matter of supreme unimportance. I consulted every man with the sincere hope that I could profit by and follow his advice; I consulted every member of Congress who wished to be consulted, hoping to be able to come to an agreement of action with him; and I always finally acted as my conscience and common sense bade me act.

ABOUT APPOINTMENTS

About appointments I was obliged by the Constitution to consult the Senate; and the long-established custom of the Senate meant that in practice this consultation was with individual Senators and even with big politicians who stood behind the Senators. I was only one-half the appointing power; I nominated; but the Senate confirmed. In practice, by what was called "the courtesy of the Senate," the Senate normally refused to confirm any appointment if the Senator from the State objected to it. In exceptional cases, where I could arouse public attention, I could force through the appointment in spite of the opposition of the Senators; in all ordinary cases this was impossible. On the other hand, the Senator could of course do nothing for any man unless I chose to nominate him. In consequence the Constitution itself forced the President and the Senators from each State to come to a working agreement on the appointments in and from that State.

My course was to insist on absolute fitness, including honesty, as a prerequisite to every appointment; and to remove only for good cause, and, where there was such cause, to refuse even to discuss with the Senator in interest the unfit servant's retention. Subject to these considerations, I normally accepted each Senator's recommendations for offices of a routine kind, such as most post-offices and the like, but insisted on myself choosing the men for the more important positions. I was willing to take any good man for postmaster; but in the case of a Judge or District Attorney or Canal Commissioner or Ambassador, I was apt to insist either on a given man or else on any man with a given class of qualifications. If the Senator deceived me, I took care that he had no opportunity to repeat the deception.

TWO CASES IN POINT

I can perhaps best illustrate my theory of action by two specific examples. In New York Governor Odell and Senator Platt sometimes worked in agreement and sometimes were at swords' points, and both wished to be consulted. To a friendly Congressman, who was also their friend, I wrote as follows on July 22, 1903:

"I want to work with Platt. I want to work with Odell. I want to support both and take the advice of both. But of course ultimately I must be the judge as to acting on the advice given. When, as in the case of the judgeship, I am convinced that the advice of both is wrong, I shall act as I did when I appointed Holt. When I can find a

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friend of Odell's like Cooley who is thoroughly fit for the position I desire to fill, it gives me the greatest pleasure to appoint him. When Platt proposes to me a man like Hamilton Fish, it is equally a pleasure to appoint him."

This was written in connection with events which led up to my refusing to accept Senator Platt's or Governor Odell's suggestions as to a Federal Judgeship and a Federal District Attorneyship, and insisting on the appointment first of Judge Hough and later of District Attorney Stimson; because in each case I felt that the work to be done was of so high an order that I could not take an ordinary man.

The other case was that of Senator Fulton, of Oregon. Through Francis Heney I was prosecuting men who were implicated in a vast network of conspiracy against the law in connection with the theft of public land in Oregon. I had been acting on Senator Fulton's recommendations for office, in the usual manner. Heney had been insisting that Fulton was in league with the men we were prosecuting, and that he had recommended unfit men. Fulton had been protesting against my following Heney's advice, particularly as regards appointing Judge Wolverton as United States Judge. Finally Heney laid before me a report which convinced me of the truth of his statements. I then wrote to Fulton as follows, on November 20, 1905: "My dear Senator Fulton: I inclose you herewith a copy of the report made to me by Mr. Heney. I have seen the originals of the letters from you and Senator Mitchell quoted therein. I do not at this time desire to discuss the report itself, which of course I must submit to the Attorney-General. But I have been obliged to reach the painful conclusion that your own letters as therein quoted tend to show that you recommended for the position of District Attorney B when you had good reason to believe that he had himself been guilty of fraudulent conduct; that you recommended C for the same position simply because it was for B's interest that he should be so recommended, and, as there is reason to believe, because he had agreed to divide the fees with B if he were appointed; and that you finally recommended the reappointment of H with the knowledge that if H were appointed he would abstain from prosecuting B for criminal misconduct, this being why B advocated H's claims for reappointment. If you care to make any statement in the matter, I shall of course be glad to hear it. As the District Judge of Oregon I shall appoint Judge Wolverton." In the letter I of course gave in full the names indicated above by initials. Senator Fulton gave no explanation. I therefore ceased to consult him about appointments under the Department of Justice and the Interior, the two departments in which the crookedness had occurred—there was no question of crookedness in the other offices in the State, and they could be handled in the ordinary manner. Legal proceedings were undertaken against his colleague in the Senate, and one of his colleagues in the lower house, and the former was convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary.

FROM THE "CHRONICLE," CHICAGO

"HIS FAVORITE AUTHOR"

Cartoon by A. Lovey

"There was one cartoon made while I was President, in which I appeared incidentally, that was always a great favorite of mine. It pictured an old fellow with chin-whiskers, a farmer, in his shirt-sleeves, with his boots off, sitting before the fire, reading the President's Message"

TESTS OF LEGALITY

In a number of instances the legality of executive acts of my Administration was brought before the courts. They were uniformly sustained. For example, prior to 1907 statutes relating to the disposition of coal

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lands had been construed as fixing the flat price at $10 to $20 per acre. The result was that valuable coal lands were sold for wholly inadequate prices, chiefly to big corporations. By executive order the coal lands were withdrawn and not opened for entry until proper classification was placed thereon by Government agents. There was a great clamor that I was usurping legislative power; but the acts were not assailed in court until we brought suits to set aside entries made by persons and associations to obtain larger areas than the statutes authorized. This position was opposed on the ground that the restrictions imposed were illegal; that the executive orders were illegal. The Supreme Court sustained the Government. In the same way our attitude in the water power question was sustained, the Supreme Court holding that the Federal Government had the rights we claimed over streams that are or may be declared navigable by Congress. Again, when Oklahoma became a State we were obliged to use the executive power to protect Indian rights and property, for there had been an enormous amount of fraud in the obtaining of Indian lands by white men. Here we were denounced as usurping power over a State as well as usurping power that did not belong to the executive. The Supreme Court sustained our action.

PROTECTING THE INDIANS

In connection with the Indians, by the way, it was again and again necessary to assert the position of the President as steward of the whole people. I had a capital Indian Commissioner, Francis E. Leupp. I found that I could rely on his judgment not to get me into fights that were unnecessary, and therefore I always backed him to the limit when he told me that a fight was necessary. On one occasion, for example, Congress passed a bill to sell to settlers about half a million acres of Indian land in Oklahoma at one and a half dollars an acre. I refused to sign it, and turned the matter over to Leupp. The bill was accordingly withdrawn, amended so as to safeguard the welfare of the Indians, and the minimum price raised to five dollars an acre. Then I signed the bill. We sold that land under sealed bids, and realized for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians more than four million dollars—three millions and a quarter more than they would have obtained if I had signed the bill in its original form. In another case, where there had been a division among the Sac and Fox Indians, part of the tribe removing to Iowa, the Iowa delegation in Congress, backed by two Iowans who were members of my Cabinet, passed a bill awarding a sum of nearly a half million dollars to the Iowa seceders. They had not consulted the Indian Bureau. Leupp protested against the bill, and I vetoed it. A subsequent bill was passed on the lines laid down by the Indian Bureau, referring the whole controversy to the courts, and the Supreme Court in the end justified our position by deciding against the Iowa seceders and awarding the money to the Oklahoma stay-at-homes.

THE LINCOLN AND BUCHANAN VIEWS

As to all action of this kind there have long been two schools of political thought, upheld with equal sincerity. The division has not normally been along political, but temperamental, lines. The course I followed, of regarding the Executive as subject only to the people, and, under the Constitution, bound to serve the people affirmatively in cases where the Constitution does not explicitly forbid him to render the service, was substantially the course followed by both Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. Other honorable and well-meaning Presidents, such as James Buchanan, took the opposite and, as it seems to me, narrowly legalistic view that the President is the servant of Congress rather than of the people, and can do nothing, no matter how necessary it be to act, unless the Constitution explicitly commands the action. Most able lawyers who are past middle age take this view, and so do large numbers of well-meaning, respectable citizens. My successor in office took this, the Buchanan, view of the President's powers and duties.

PROTECTING THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

For example, under my Administration we found that one of the favorite methods adopted by the men desirous of stealing the public domain was to carry the decision of the Secretary of the Interior into court. By vigorously opposing such action, and only by so doing, we were able to carry out the policy of properly protecting the public domain. My successor not only took the opposite view, but recommended to Congress the passage of a bill which would have given the courts direct appellate power over the Secretary of the Interior in these land matters. This bill was reported favorably by Mr. Mon-

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FROM "PUNCH"

THE ROUGH RIDER

Cartoon by Bernard Partridge

With Mr. Punch's best wishes to Colonel Roosevelt, President of the United States

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dell, Chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands, a Congressman who took the lead in every measure to prevent the conservation of our natural resources and the preservation of the National domain for the use of home-seekers. Fortunately, Congress declined to pass the bill. Its passage would have been a veritable calamity.

I acted on the theory that the President could at any time in his discretion withdraw from entry any of the public lands of the United States and reserve the same for forestry, for water power sites, for irrigation, and other public purposes. Without such action it would have been impossible to stop the activity of the land thieves. No one ventured to test its legality by lawsuit. My successor, however, himself questioned it, and referred the matter to Congress. Again Congress showed its wisdom by passing a law which gave the President the power which he had long exercised, and of which my successor had shorn himself.

THE BALLINGER CASE

Perhaps the sharp difference between what may be called the Lincoln-Jackson and the Buchanan-Taft schools, in their views of the power and duties of the President, may be best illustrated by comparing the attitude of my successor toward his Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ballinger, when the latter was accused of gross misconduct in office, with my attitude towards my chiefs of department and other subordinate officers. More than once while I was President my officials were attacked by Congress, generally because these officials did their duty well and fearlessly. In every such case I stood by the official and refused to recognize the right of Congress to interfere with me excepting by impeachment or in other Constitutional manner. On the other hand, wherever I found the officer unfit for his position I promptly removed him, even although the most influential men in Congress fought for his retention. The Jackson-Lincoln view is that a President who is fit to do good work should be able to form his own judgment as to his own subordinates, and, above all, of the subordinates standing highest and in closest and most intimate touch with him. My secretaries and their subordinates were responsible to me, and I accepted the responsibility for all their deeds. As long as they were satisfactory to me I stood by them against every critic or assailant, within or without Congress; and as for getting Congress to make up my mind for me about them, the thought would have been inconceivable to me. My successor took the opposite, or Buchanan, view when he permitted and requested Congress to pass judgment on the charges made against Mr. Ballinger as an executive officer. These charges were made to the President; the President had the facts before him and could get at them at any time, and he alone had power to act if the charges were true. However, he permitted and requested Congress to investigate Mr. Ballinger. The party minority of the committee that investigated him, and one member of the majority, declared that the charges were well founded and that Mr. Ballinger should be removed. The other members of the majority declared the charges ill founded. The President abode by the view of the majority. Of course believers in the Jackson-Lincoln theory of the Presidency would not be content with this town meeting, majority and minority method of determining by another branch of the Government what it seems the especial duty of the President himself to determine for himself in dealing with his own subordinate in his own department.

ACTION OR INACTION

There are many worthy people who reprobate the Buchanan method as a matter of history, but who in actual life reprobate still more strongly the Jackson-Lincoln method when it is put into practice. These persons conscientiously believe that the President should solve every doubt in favor of inaction as against action, that he should construe strictly and narrowly the Constitutional grant of powers both to the National Government, and to the President within the National Government. In addition, however, to the men who conscientiously believe in this course from high, although as I hold misguided, motives, there are many men who affect to believe in it merely because it enables them to attack and to try to hamper, for partisan or personal reasons, an executive whom they dislike. There are other men in whom, especially when they are themselves in office, practical adherence to the Buchanan principle represents not well-thought-out devotion to an unwise course, but simple weakness of character and desire to avoid trouble and responsibility. Unfortunately, in practice it makes little difference which class of ideas

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FROM "PUNCH"

THE SOAP-AND-WATER CURE

Cartoon by Bernard Partridge

President Roosevelt. "As I recently remarked at Nashville, Tennessee: 'During the next sixteen months of my term of office this policy shall be persevered in unswervingly!'"
American Eagle. "Jehoshaphat!"

actuates the President who by his action sets a cramping precedent. Whether he is high-minded and wrongheaded or merely infirm of purpose, whether he means well feebly or is bound by a mischievous misconception of the powers and duties of the National Government and of the President, the effect of his actions is the same. The President's duty is to act so that he himself and his subordinates shall be able to do efficient work for the people, and this efficient work he and they cannot do if Congress is permitted to

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undertake the task of making up his mind for him as to how he shall perform what is clearly his sole duty.

UNPAID COMMISSIONS

One of the ways in which by independent action of the Executive we were able to accomplish an immense amount of work for the public was through volunteer unpaid commissions appointed by the President. It was possible to get the work done by these volunteer commissions only because of the enthusiasm for the public service which, starting in the higher offices at Washington, made itself felt throughout the Government departments—as I have said, I never knew harder and more disinterested work done by any people than was done by the men and women of all ranks in the Government service. The contrast was really extraordinary between their live interest in their work and the traditional clerical apathy which has so often been the distinguishing note of governmental work in Washington. Most of the public service performed by these volunteer commissions, carried on without a cent of pay to the men themselves, and wholly without cost to the Government, was done by men the great majority of whom were already in the Government service and already charged with responsibilities amounting each to a full man's job.

The first of these Commissions was the Commission on the Organization of Government Scientific Work, whose Chairman was Charles D. Walcott. Appointed March 13, 1903, its duty was to report directly to the President "upon the organization, present condition, and needs of the executive Government work wholly or partly scientific in character, and upon the steps which should be taken, if any, to prevent the duplication of such work, to co-ordinate its various branches, to increase its efficiency and economy, and to promote its usefulness to the Nation at large." This Commission spent four months in an examination which covered the work of about thirty of the larger scientific and executive bureaus of the Government, and prepared a report which furnished the basis for numerous improvements in the Government service.

DEPARTMENTAL METHODS

Another Commission, appointed June 2, 1905, was that on Department Methods—Charles H. Keep, Chairman—whose task was to "find out what changes are needed to place the conduct of the executive business of the Government in all its branches on the most economical and effective basis in the light of the best modern business practice." The letter appointing this Commission laid down nine principles of effective Governmental work, the most striking of which was: "The existence of any method, standard, custom, or practice is no reason for its continuance when a better is offered." This Commission, composed, like that just described, of men already charged with important work, performed its functions wholly without cost to the Government. It was assisted by a body of about seventy experts in the Government departments chosen for their special qualifications to carry forward a study of the best methods in business, and organized into assistant committees under the leadership of Overton W. Price, Secretary of the Commission. These assistant committees, all of whose members were still carrying on their regular work, made their reports during the last half of 1906. The Committee informed itself fully regarding the business methods of practically every individual branch of the business of the Government, and effected a marked improvement in general efficiency throughout the service.

The conduct of the routine business of the Government had never been thoroughly overhauled before, and this examination of it resulted in the promulgation of a set of working principles for the transaction of public business which are as sound to-day as they were when the Committee finished its work. The somewhat elaborate and costly investigations of Government business methods since made have served merely to confirm the findings of the Committee on Departmental Methods, which were achieved without costing the Government a dollar. The actual saving in the conduct of the business of the Government through the better methods thus introduced amounted yearly to many hundreds of thousands of dollars; but a far more important gain was due to the remarkable success of the Commission in establishing a new point of view in public servants toward their work.

A BELATED STOVE

The need for improvement in the Governmental methods of transacting business may be illustrated by an actual case. An officer in charge of an Indian agency made a requisition in the autumn for a stove costing seven dollars, certifying at the same time

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that it was needed to keep the infirmary warm during the winter, because the old stove was worn out. Thereupon the customary papers went through the customary routine, without unusual delay at any point. The transaction moved like a glacier with dignity to its appointed end, and the stove reached the infirmary in good order in time for the Indian agent to acknowledge its arrival in these words: "The stove is here. So is spring."

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND OFFICE-SEEKING

The Civil Service Commission, under men like John McIlhenny and Garfield, rendered service without which the Government could have been conducted with neither efficiency nor honesty. The politicians were not the only persons at fault; almost as much improper pressure for appointments is due to mere misplaced sympathy, and to the spiritless inefficiency which seeks a Government office as a haven for the incompetent. An amusing feature of office-seeking is that each man desiring an office is apt to look down on all others with the same object, as forming an objectionable class with which *he* has nothing in common. At the time of the eruption of Mont Pelée, when among others the American Consul was killed, a man who had long been seeking an appointment promptly applied for the vacancy. He was a good man, of persistent nature, who felt that I had been somewhat blind to his merits. The morning after the catastrophe he wrote, saying that as the Consul was dead he would like his place, and that I could surely give it to him, because "even the office-seekers could not have applied for it yet"!

OTHER COMMISSIONS

The method of public service involved in the appointment and the work of the two commissions just described was applied also in the establishment of four other commissions, each of which performed its task without salary or expense for its members, and wholly without cost to the Government. The other four commissions were:

Commission on Public Lands;
Commission on Inland Waterways;
Commission on Country Life; and
Commission on National Conservation.

All of these commissions were suggested to me by Gifford Pinchot, who served upon them all. The work of the last four will be touched upon in connection with the chapter on Conservation.

PLACE-HOLDERS AND POLITICIANS OPPOSE

These commissions by their reports and findings directly interfered with many place-holders who were doing inefficient work, and their reports and the action taken thereon by the Administration strengthened the hands of those administrative officers who in the various departments, and especially in the Secret Service, were proceeding against land thieves and other corrupt wrong-doers. Moreover, the mere fact that they did efficient work for the public along lines new to veteran and cynical politicians of the old type created vehement hostility to them. Senators like Mr. Hale and Congressmen like Mr. Tawney were especially bitter against these commissions, and towards the end of my term they were followed by the majority of their fellows in both houses, who had gradually been sundered from me by the open or covert hostility of the financial or Wall Street leaders, and of the newspaper editors and politicians who did their bidding in the interest of privilege. These Senators and Congressmen asserted that they had a right to forbid the President profiting by the unpaid advice of disinterested experts. Of course I declined to admit the existence of any such right, and continued the commissions. My successor acknowledged the right, upheld the view of the politicians in question, and abandoned the commissions, to the lasting detriment of the people as a whole.

REDUCING THE PUBLIC DEBT

One thing is worth pointing out: During the seven and a half years of my Administration we greatly and usefully extended the sphere of Governmental action, and yet we reduced the burden of the taxpayers; for we reduced the interest-bearing debt by more than $90,000,000. To achieve a marked increase in efficiency and at the same time an increase in economy is not an easy feat; but we performed it.

ROOTING OUT CORRUPTION

There was one ugly and very necessary task. This was to discover and root out corruption wherever it was found in any of the departments. The first essential was to make it clearly understood that no political or business or social influence of any kind would for one moment be even considered when the honesty of a public official was at issue. It took a little time to get this fact thoroughly

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drilled into the heads both of the men within the service and of the political leaders without. The feat was accomplished so thoroughly that every effort to interfere in any shape or way with the course of justice was abandoned definitely and for good. Most, although not all, of the frauds occurred in connection with the Post-Office Department and the Land Office.

THE POST-OFFICE FRAUDS

It was in the Post-Office Department that we first definitely established the rule of conduct which became universal throughout the whole service. Rumors of corruption in the department became rife, and finally I spoke of them to the then First Assistant Postmaster-General, afterwards Postmaster-General, Robert J. Wynne. He reported to me, after some investigation, that in his belief there was doubtless corruption, but that it was very difficult to get at it, and that the offenders were confident and defiant because of their great political and business backing and the ramifications of their crimes. Talking the matter over with him, I came to the conclusion that the right man to carry on the investigation was the then Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, now a Senator from Kansas, Joseph L. Bristow, who possessed the iron fearlessness needful to front such a situation. Mr. Bristow had perforce seen a good deal of the seamy side of politics, and of the extent of the unscrupulousness with which powerful influence was brought to bear to shield offenders. Before undertaking the investigation he came to see me, and said that he did not wish to go into it unless he could be assured that I would stand personally behind him, and, no matter where his inquiries led him, would support him and prevent interference with him. I answered that I would certainly do so. He went into the investigation with relentless energy, dogged courage, and keen intelligence. His success was complete, and the extent of his services to the Nation are not easily to be exaggerated. He unearthed a really appalling amount of corruption, and he did his work with such absolute thoroughness that the corruption was completely eradicated.

We had, of course, the experience usual in all such investigations. At first there was popular incredulity and disbelief that there was much behind the charges, or that much could be unearthed. Then when the corruption was shown there followed a yell of anger from all directions, and a period during which any man accused was forthwith held guilty by the public; and violent demands were made by the newspapers for the prosecution not only of the men who could be prosecuted with a fair chance of securing conviction and imprisonment, but of other men whose misconduct had been such as to warrant my removing them from office, but against whom it was not possible to get the kind of evidence which would render likely conviction in a criminal case.

Suits were brought against all the officials whom we thought we could convict; and the public complained bitterly that we did not bring further suits. We secured several convictions, including convictions of the most notable offenders. The trials consumed a good deal of time. Public attention was attracted to something else. Indifference succeeded to excitement, and in some subtle way the juries seemed to respond to the indifference. One of the worst offenders was acquitted by a jury; whereupon not a few of the same men who had insisted that the Government was derelict in not criminally prosecuting every man whose misconduct was established so as to make it necessary to turn him out of office, now turned round and, inasmuch as the jury had not found this man guilty of crime, demanded that he should be reinstated in office! It is needless to say that the demand was not granted. There were two or three other acquittals, of prominent outsiders. Nevertheless the net result was that the majority of the worst offenders were sent to prison, and the remainder dismissed from the Government service if they were public officials, and, if they were not public officials, at least so advertised as to render it impossible that they should ever again have dealings with the Government.

The department was absolutely cleaned, and became one of the very best in the Government. Several Senators came to me—Mr. Garfield was present on the occasion—and said that they were glad I was putting a stop to corruption, but they hoped I would avoid all scandal; that if I would make an example of some one man and then let the others quietly resign, it would avoid a disturbance which might hurt the party. They were advising me in good faith, and I was as courteous as possible in my answer, but explained that I would have to act with the utmost rigor against the offenders, no matter what the effect on the party, and, moreover,

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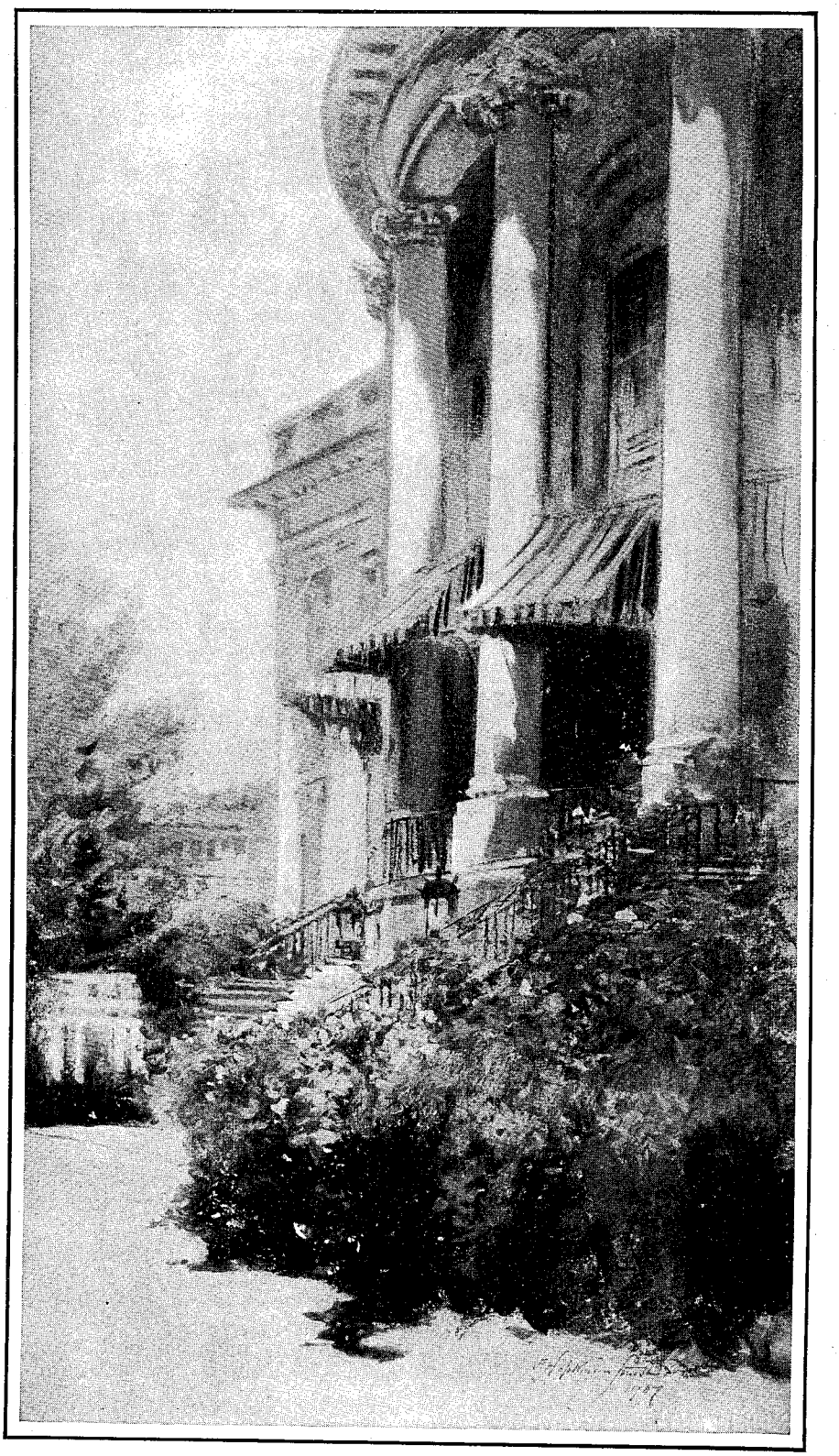

THE WHITE HOUSE FROM THE GARDEN
From a painting by F. Hopkinson Smith

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that I did not believe it would hurt the party. It did not hurt the party. It helped the party. A favorite war-cry in American political life has always been, "Turn the rascals out." We made it evident that, as far as we were concerned, this war-cry was pointless; for we turned our own rascals out.

THE LAND FRAUDS

There were important and successful land fraud prosecutions in several Western States. Probably the most important were the cases prosecuted in Oregon by Francis J. Heney, with the assistance of William J. Burns, a secret service agent who at that time began his career as a great detective. It would be impossible to overstate the services rendered to the cause of decency and honesty by Messrs. Heney and Burns. Mr. Heney was my close and intimate adviser professionally and non-professionally, not only as regards putting a stop to frauds in the public lands, but in many other matters of vital interest to the Republic. No man in the country has waged the battle for National honesty with greater courage and success, with more whole-hearted devotion to the public good; and no man has been more traduced and maligned by the wrong-doing agents and representatives of the great sinister forces of evil. He secured the conviction of various men of high political and financial standing in connection with the Oregon prosecutions; he and Burns behaved with scrupulous fairness and propriety; but their services to the public caused them to incur the bitter hatred of those who had wronged the public, and after I left office the National Administration turned against them. One of the most conspicuous of the men whom they had succeeded in convicting was pardoned by President Taft—in spite of the fact that the presiding Judge, Judge Hunt, had held that the evidence amply warranted the conviction, and had sentenced the man to imprisonment. As was natural, the one hundred and forty-six land-fraud defendants in Oregon, who included the foremost machine political leaders in the State, furnished the backbone of the opposition to me in the Presidential contest of 1912. The opposition rallied behind Messrs. Taft and La Follette; and although I carried the primaries handsomely, half of the delegates elected from Oregon under instructions to vote for me, sided with my opponents in the National Convention—and as regards some of them I became convinced that the mainspring of their motive lay in the intrigue for securing the pardon of certain of the men whose conviction Heney had secured.

SWINDLERS ON A LARGE SCALE

Land fraud and post-office cases were not the only ones. We were especially zealous in prosecuting all of the "higher up" offenders in the realms of politics and finance who swindled on a large scale. Special assistants of the Attorney-General, such as Mr. Frank Kellogg, of St. Paul, and various first-class Federal district attorneys in different parts of the country, secured notable results: Mr. Stimson and his assistants, Messrs. Wise, Denison, and Frankfurter, in New York, for instance, in connection with the prosecution of the Sugar Trust and of the banker Morse, and of a great metropolitan newspaper for opening its columns to obscene and immoral advertisements; and in St. Louis Messrs. Dyer and Nortoni, who, among other services, secured the conviction and imprisonment of Senator Burton, of Kansas; and in Chicago Mr. Sims, who raised his office to the highest pitch of efficiency, secured the conviction of the banker Walsh and of the Beef Trust, and first broke through the armor of the Standard Oil Trust. It is not too much to say that these men, and others like them, worked a complete revolution in the enforcement of the Federal laws, and made their offices organized legal machines fit and ready to conduct smashing fights for the people's rights and to enforce the laws in aggressive fashion. When I took the Presidency, it was a common and bitter saying that a big man, a rich man, could not be put in jail. We put many big and rich men in jail; two United States Senators, for instance, and among others two great bankers, one in New York and one in Chicago. One of the United States Senators died, the other served his term. (One of the bankers was released from prison by executive order after I left office.) These were merely individual cases among many others like them. Moreover, we were just as relentless in dealing with crimes of violence among the disorderly and brutal classes as in dealing with the crimes of cunning and fraud of which certain wealthy men and big politicians were guilty. Mr. Sims in Chicago was particularly efficient in sending to the penitentiary numbers of the infamous men who batten on the "white slave" traffic, after July, 1908, when by proclamation I announced the adherence of our Government

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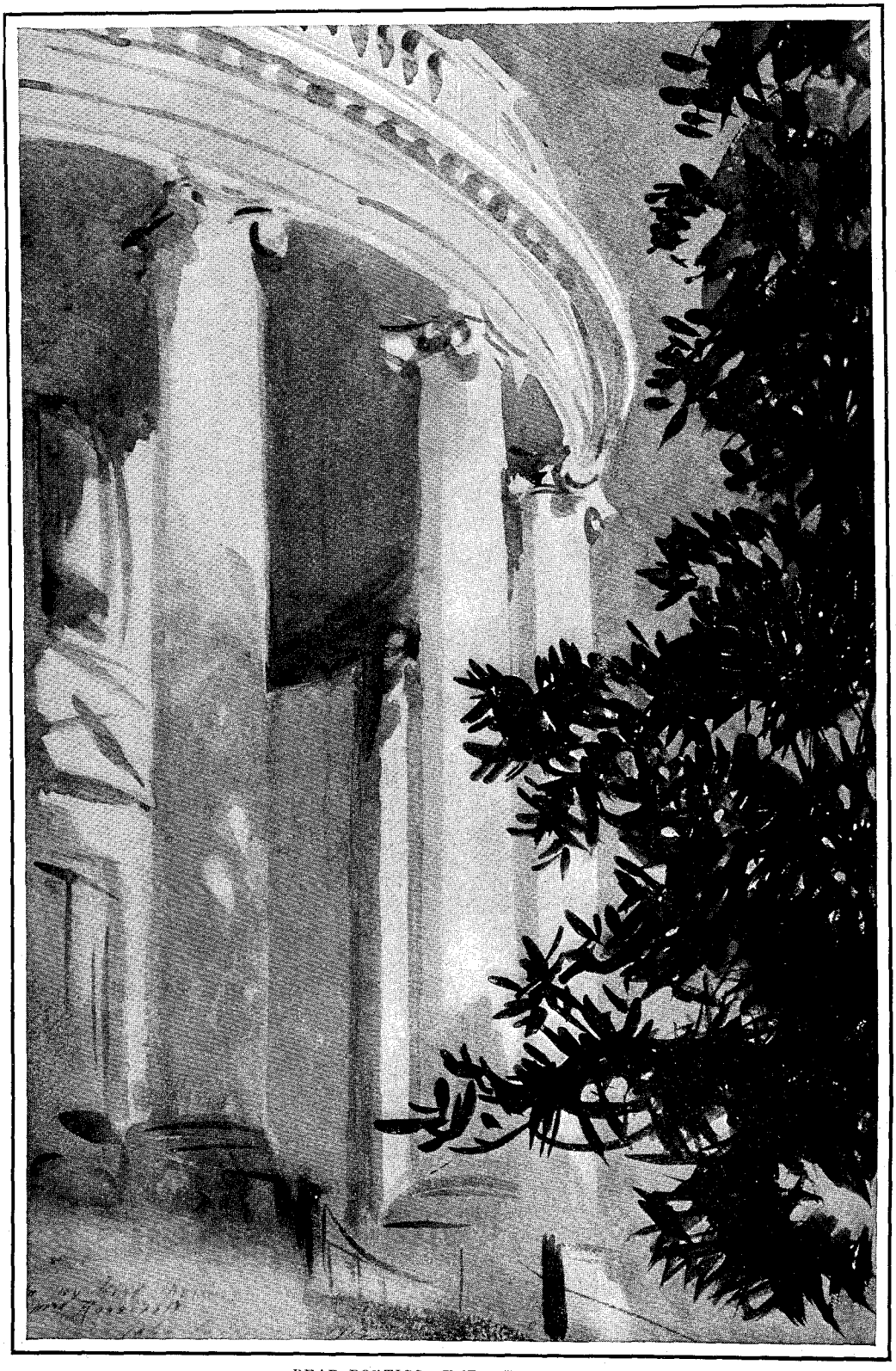

REAR PORTICO—THE WHITE HOUSE
From a painting by John S. Sargent

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to the international agreement for the suppression of the traffic.

THE QUESTION AS TO PARDONS

The views I then held and now hold were expressed in a memorandum made in the case of a Negro convicted of the rape of a young Negro girl, practically a child. A petition for his pardon had been sent me.

"White House, Washington, D. C.,
August 8, 1904.

"The application for the commutation of sentence of John W. Burley is denied. This man committed the most hideous crime known to our laws, and twice before he has committed crimes of a similar, though less horrible, character. In my judgment there is no justification whatever for paying heed to the allegations that he is not of sound mind, allegations made after the trial and conviction. Nobody would pretend that there has ever been any such degree of mental unsoundness shown as would make people even consider sending him to an asylum if he had not committed this crime. Under such circumstances he should certainly be esteemed sane enough to suffer the penalty for his monstrous deed. I have scant sympathy with the plea of insanity advanced to save a man from the consequences of crime, when unless that crime had been committed it would have been impossible to persuade any responsible authority to commit him to an asylum as insane. Among the most dangerous criminals, and especially among those prone to commit this particular kind of offense, there are plenty of a temper so fiendish or so brutal as to be incompatible with any other than a brutish order of intelligence; but these men are nevertheless responsible for their acts; and nothing more tends to encourage crime among such men than the belief that through the plea of insanity or any other method it is possible for them to escape paying the just penalty of their crimes. The crime in question is one to the existence of which we largely owe the existence of that spirit of lawlessness which takes form in lynching. It is a crime so revolting that the criminal is not entitled to one particle of sympathy from any human being. It is essential that the punishment for it should be not only as certain but as swift as possible. The jury in this case did their duty by recommending the infliction of the death penalty. It is to be regretted that we do not have special provision for more summary dealing with this type of cases. The more we do what in us lies to secure certain and swift justice in dealing with these cases, the more effectively do we work against the growth of that lynching spirit which is so full of evil omen for this people, because it seeks to avenge one infamous crime by the commission of another of equal infamy.

"The application is denied and the sentence will be carried into effect.

"(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

THE MINING WAR IN NEVADA

One of the most curious incidents of lawlessness with which I had to deal affected an entire State. The State of Nevada in the year 1907 was gradually drifting into utter governmental impotence and downright anarchy. The people were at heart all right; but the forces of evil had been permitted to get the upper hand, and for the time being the decent citizens had become helpless to assert themselves either by controlling the greedy corporations on the one hand or repressing the murderous violence of certain lawless labor organizations on the other hand. The Governor of the State was a Democrat and a Southern man, and in the abstract a strong believer in the doctrine of State's rights. But his experience finally convinced him that he could obtain order only through the intervention of the National Government; and then he went over too far and wished to have the National Government do his police work for him. In the Rocky Mountain States there had existed for years what was practically a condition of almost constant war between the wealthy mine-owners and the Western Federation of Miners, at whose head stood Messrs. Haywood, Pettibone, and Moyer, who were about that time indicted for the murder of the Governor of Idaho. Much that was lawless, much that was indefensible, had been done by both sides. The Legislature of Nevada was in sympathy with, or at least was afraid of not expressing sympathy for, Messrs. Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, and their associates.

The State was practically without any police, and the Governor had recommended the establishment of a State Constabulary, along the lines of the Texas Rangers; but the Legislature rejected his request. The Governor reported to me the conditions as follows. During 1907 the Goldfield mining district became divided into

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two hostile camps. Half of the Western Federation of Miners were constantly armed, and arms and ammunition were purchased and kept by the union as a body, while the mine-owners on their side retained large numbers of watchmen and guards who were also armed and always on duty. In addition to these opposing forces there was, as the Governor reported, an unusually large number of the violent and criminal element, always attracted to a new and booming mining camp. Under such conditions the civil authorities were practically powerless, and the Governor, being helpless to avert civil war, called on me to keep order. I accordingly threw in a body of regular troops under General Funston. These kept order completely, and the Governor became so well satisfied that he thought he would like to have them there permanently! This seemed to me unhealthy, and on December 28, 1907, I notified him that while I would do my duty, the first need was that the State authorities should do theirs, and that the first step towards this was the assembling of the Legislature. I concluded my telegram: "If within five days from receipt of this telegram you shall have issued the necessary notice to convene the Legislature of Nevada, I shall continue the troops during a period of three weeks. If when the term of five days has elapsed the notice has not been issued, the troops will be immediately returned to their former stations." I had already investigated the situation through a committee, composed of the Chief of the Bureau of Corporations, Mr. H. K. Smith, the Chief of the Bureau of Labor, Mr. C. P. Neill, and the Comptroller of the Treasury, Mr. Lawrence Murray. These men I could thoroughly trust, and their report, which was not over-favorable to either side, had convinced me that the only permanent way to get good results was to insist on the people of the State themselves grappling with and solving their own troubles. The Governor summoned the Legislature, it met, and the constabulary bill was passed. The troops remained in Nevada until time had been given for the State authorities to organize their force so that violence could at once be checked. Then they were withdrawn.

CALIFORNIA AND THE JAPANESE

Nor was it only as regards their own internal affairs that I sometimes had to get into active communication with the State authorities. There has always been a strong feeling in California against the immigration of Asiatic laborers, whether these are wage-workers or men who occupy and till the soil. I believe this to be fundamentally a sound and proper attitude, an attitude which must be insisted upon, and yet which can be insisted upon in such a manner and with such courtesy and such sense of mutual fairness and reciprocal obligation and respect as not to give any just cause of offense to Asiatic peoples. In the present state of the world's progress it is highly inadvisable that peoples in wholly different stages of civilization, or of wholly different types of civilization even although both equally high, shall be thrown into intimate contact. This is especially undesirable when there is a difference of both race and standard of living. In California the question became acute in connection with the admission of the Japanese. I then had and now have a hearty admiration for the Japanese people. I believe in them; I respect their great qualities; I wish that our American people had many of these qualities. Japanese and American students, travelers, scientific and literary men, merchants engaged in international trade, and the like can meet on terms of entire equality and should be given the freest access each to the country of the other. But the Japanese themselves would not tolerate the intrusion into their country of a mass of Americans who would displace Japanese in the business of the land. I think they are entirely right in this position. I would be the first to admit that Japan has the absolute right to declare on what terms foreigners shall be admitted to work in her country, or to own land in her country, or to become citizens of her country. America has and must insist upon the same right. The people of California were right in insisting that the Japanese should not come thither in mass, that there should be no influx of laborers, of agricultural workers, or small tradesmen—in short, no mass settlement or immigration.

THE JAPANESE SCHOOL QUESTION

Unfortunately, during the latter part of my term as President certain unwise and demagogic agitators in California, to show their disapproval of the Japanese coming into the State, adopted the very foolish procedure of trying to provide by law that the Japanese children should not be allowed to attend the schools with the white children, and offensive and injurious language was used in connec-

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tion with the proposal. The Federal Administration promptly took up the matter with the California authorities, and I got into personal touch with them. At my request the Mayor of San Francisco and other leaders in the movement came on to see me. I explained that the duty of the National Government was twofold: in the first place, to meet every reasonable wish and every real need of the people of California or any other State in dealing with the people of a foreign power; and, in the next place, itself exclusively and fully to exercise the right of dealing with this foreign power.

Inasmuch as in the last resort, including that last of all resorts, war, the dealing of necessity had to be between the foreign power and the National Government, it was impossible to admit that the doctrine of State sovereignty could be invoked in such a matter. As soon as legislative or other action in any State affects a foreign nation, then the affair becomes one for the Nation, and the State should deal with the foreign power purely through the Nation.

ASSERTING NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

I explained that I was in entire sympathy with the people of California as to the subject of immigration of the Japanese in mass; but that of course I wished to accomplish the object they had in view in the way that would be most courteous and most agreeable to the feelings of the Japanese; that all relations between the two peoples must be those of reciprocal justice, and that it was an intolerable outrage on the part of newspapers and public men to use offensive and insulting language about a high-spirited, sensitive, and friendly people; and that such action as was proposed about the schools could only have bad effects, and would in no shape or way achieve the purpose that the Californians had in mind. I also explained that I would use every resource of the National Government to protect the Japanese in their treaty rights, and would count upon the State authorities backing me up to the limit in such action. In short, I insisted upon the two points, (1) that the Nation and not the individual States must deal with matters of such international significance and must treat foreign nations with entire courtesy and respect; and (2) that the Nation would at once, and in efficient and satisfactory manner, take action that would meet the needs of California. I both asserted the power of the Nation and offered a full remedy for the needs of the State. This is the right, and the only right, course. The worst possible course in such a case is to fail to insist on the right of the Nation, to offer no action of the Nation to remedy what is wrong, and yet to try to coax the State not to do what it is mistakenly encouraged to believe it has the power to do, when no other alternative is offered.

A SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION

After a good deal of discussion, we came to an entirely satisfactory conclusion. The obnoxious school legislation was abandoned, and I secured an arrangement with Japan under which the Japanese themselves prevented any emigration to our country of their laboring people, it being distinctly understood that if there was such emigration the United States would at once pass an exclusion law. It was of course infinitely better that the Japanese should stop their own people from coming rather than that we should have to stop them; but it was necessary for us to hold this power in reserve. Unfortunately, after I left office, a most mistaken and ill-advised policy was pursued towards Japan, combining irritation and inefficiency, which culminated in a treaty under which we surrendered this important and necessary right. It was alleged in excuse that the treaty provided for its own abrogation; but of course it is infinitely better to have a treaty under which the power to exercise a necessary right is explicitly retained rather than a treaty so drawn that recourse must be had to the extreme step of abrogating it if it ever becomes necessary to exercise the right in question.

The arrangement we made worked admirably, and entirely achieved its purpose. No small part of our success was due to the fact that we succeeded in impressing on the Japanese that we sincerely admired and respected them, and desired to treat them with the utmost consideration.

I cannot too strongly express my indignation with, and abhorrence of, reckless public writers and speakers who, with coarse and vulgar insolence, insult the Japanese people and thereby do the greatest wrong not only to Japan but to their own country. Such conduct represents the nadir of underbreeding and folly. The Japanese are one of the great nations of the world, entitled to stand, and standing, on a footing of full equality with any nation of Europe or America. I have the heartiest admiration

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for them. They can teach us much. Their civilization is in some respects higher than our own. It is eminently undesirable that Japanese and Americans should attempt to live together in masses; any such attempt would be sure to result disastrously, and the far-seeing statesmen of both countries should join to prevent it. But this is not because either nation is inferior to the other; it is because they are different.

The two peoples represent two civilizations which, although in many respects equally high, are so totally distinct in their past history that it is idle to expect in one or two generations to overcome this difference. One civilization is as old as the other; and in neither case is the line of cultural descent coincident with that of ethnic descent. Unquestionably the ancestors of the great majority both of the modern Americans and the modern Japanese were barbarians in that remote past which saw the origins of the cultured peoples to which the Americans and the Japanese of to-day severally trace their civilizations. But the lines of development of these two civilizations, of the Orient and the Occident, have been separate and divergent since thousands of years before the Christian era; certainly since that hoary eld in which the Akkadian predecessors of the Chaldean Semites held sway in Mesopotamia. An effort to mix together, out of hand, the peoples representing the culminating points of two such lines of divergent cultural development would be fraught with peril; and this, I repeat, because the two are different, not because either is inferior to the other. Wise statesmen, looking to the future, will for the present endeavor to keep the two nations from mass contact and intermingling, precisely because they wish to keep each in relations of permanent good will and friendship with the other.

A LETTER TO CALIFORNIA

Exactly what was done in the particular crisis to which I refer is shown in the following letter which, after our policy had been successfully put into execution, I sent to the then Speaker of the California lower house of the Legislature:

"The White House, Washington,
February 8, 1909.

"Hon. P. A. Stanton,
Speaker of the Assembly,
Sacramento, California:

"I trust there will be no misunderstanding of the Federal Government's attitude. We are jealously endeavoring to guard the interests of California and of the entire West in accordance with the desires of our Western people. By friendly agreement with Japan, we are now carrying out a policy which, while meeting the interests and desires of the Pacific Slope, is yet compatible, not merely with mutual self-respect, but with mutual esteem and admiration between the Americans and Japanese. The Japanese Government is loyally and in good faith doing its part to carry out this policy, precisely as the American Government is doing. The policy aims at mutuality of obligation and behavior. In accordance with it the purpose is that the Japanese shall come here exactly as Americans go to Japan, which is in effect that travelers, students, persons engaged in international business, men who sojourn for pleasure or study, and the like, shall have the freest access from one country to the other, and shall be sure of the best treatment, but that there shall be no settlement in mass by the people of either country in the other. During the last six months under this policy more Japanese have left the country than have come in, and the total number in the United States has diminished by over two thousand. These figures are absolutely accurate and cannot be impeached. In other words, if the present policy is consistently followed and works as well in the future as it is now working, all difficulties and causes of friction will disappear, while at the same time each nation will retain its self-respect and the good will of the other. But such a bill as this school bill accomplishes literally nothing whatever in the line of the object aimed at, and gives just and grave cause for irritation; while in addition the United States Government would be obliged immediately to take action in the Federal courts to test such legislation, as we hold it to be clearly a violation of the treaty. On this point I refer you to the numerous decisions of the United States Supreme Court in regard to State laws which violate treaty obligations of the United States. The legislation would accomplish nothing beneficial and would certainly cause some mischief, and might cause very grave mischief. In short, the policy of the Administration is to combine the maximum of efficiency in achieving the real object which the people of the Pacific Slope have at heart, with the minimum of friction and trouble; while the misguided men who advocate such action as this against which I protest are fol-

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lowing a policy which combines the very minimum of efficiency with the maximum of insult, and which, while totally failing to achieve any real result for good, yet might accomplish an infinity of harm. If in the next year or two the action of the Federal Government fails to achieve what it is now achieving, then through the further action of the President and Congress it can be made entirely efficient. I am sure that the sound judgment of the people of California will support you, Mr. Speaker, in your effort. Let me repeat that at present we are actually doing the very thing which the people of California wish to be done, and to upset the arrangement under which this is being done cannot do good and may do great harm. If in the next year or two the figures of immigration prove that the arrangement which has worked so successfully during the last six months is no longer working successfully, then there would be ground for grievance and for the reversal by the National Government of its present policy. But at present the policy is working well, and until it works badly it would be a grave misfortune to change it, and when changed it can only be changed effectively by the National Government. THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

THE RIGHT FOREIGN POLICY

In foreign and domestic affairs alike the policy pursued during my Administration was simple. In foreign affairs the principle from which we never deviated was to have the Nation behave toward other nations precisely as a strong, honorable, and upright man behaves in dealing with his fellow-men. There is no such thing as international law in the sense that there is municipal law or law within a nation. Within the nation there is always a judge, and a policeman who stands back of the judge. The whole system of law depends first upon the fact that there is a judge competent to pass judgment, and second upon the fact that there is some competent officer whose duty it is to carry out this judgment, by force if necessary. In international law there is no judge, unless the parties in interest agree that one shall be constituted; and there is no policeman to carry out the judge's orders. In consequence as yet each nation must depend upon itself for its own protection. The frightful calamities that have befallen China, solely because she has had no power of self-defense, ought to make it inexcusable in any wise American citizen to pretend to patriotic purpose, and yet to fail to insist that the United States shall keep in a condition of ability if necessary to assert its rights with a strong hand. It is folly of the criminal type for the Nation not to keep up its navy, not to fortify its vital strategic points, and not to provide an adequate army for its needs. On the other hand, it is wicked for the Nation to fail in either justice, courtesy, or consideration when dealing with any other power, big or little. John Hay was Secretary of State when I became President, and continued to serve under me until his death, and his and my views as to the attitude that the Nation should take in foreign affairs were identical, both as regards our duty to be able to protect ourselves against the strong and as regards our duty always to act not only justly but generously toward the weak.

JOHN HAY

John Hay was one of the most delightful of companions, one of the most charming of all men of cultivation and action. Our views on foreign affairs coincided absolutely; but, as was natural enough, in domestic matters he felt much more conservative than he did in the days when as a young man he was private secretary to the great radical democratic leader of the '60's, Abraham Lincoln. He was fond of jesting with me about my supposedly dangerous tendencies in favor of labor against capital. When I was inaugurated on March 4, 1905, I wore a ring he sent me the evening before, containing the hair of Abraham Lincoln. This ring was on my finger when the Chief Justice administered to me the oath of allegiance to the United States; I often thereafter told John Hay that when I wore such a ring on such an occasion I bound myself more than ever to treat the Constitution, after the manner of Abraham Lincoln, as a document which put human rights above property rights when the two conflicted. The last Christmas John Hay was alive he sent me the manuscript of a Norse saga by William Morris, with the following note:

"Christmas Eve, 1904.

"Dear Theodore: In your quality of Viking this Norse saga should belong to you, and in your character of Enemy of Property this Ms. of William Morris will appeal to you. Wishing you a Merry Christmas and many happy years, I am yours affectionately,

"JOHN HAY."

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SOCIAL BETTERMENT

In internal affairs I cannot say that I entered the Presidency with any deliberately planned and far-reaching scheme of social betterment. I had, however, certain strong convictions; and I was on the lookout for every opportunity of realizing those convictions. I was bent upon making the Government the most efficient possible instrument in helping the people of the United States to better themselves in every way, politically, socially, and industrially. I believed with all my heart in real and thoroughgoing democracy, and I wished to make this democracy industrial as well as political, although I had only partially formulated the methods I believed we should follow. I believed in the people's rights, and therefore in National rights and States' rights just exactly to the degree in which they severally secured popular rights. I believed in invoking the National power with absolute freedom for every National need; and I believed that the Constitution should be treated as the greatest document ever devised by the wit of man to aid a people in exercising every power necessary for its own betterment, and not as a straitjacket cunningly fashioned to strangle growth. As for the particular methods of realizing these various beliefs, I was content to wait and see what method might be necessary in each given case as it arose; and I was certain that the cases would arise fast enough.

THE NOMINATION OF 1904

As the time for the Presidential nomination of 1904 drew near, it became evident that I was strong with the rank and file of the party, but that there was much opposition to me among many of the big political leaders, and especially among many of the Wall Street men. A group of these men met in conference to organize this opposition. It was to be done with complete secrecy. But such secrets are very hard to keep. I speedily knew all about it, and took my measures accordingly. The big men in question, who possessed much power so long as they could work under cover, or so long as they were merely throwing their weight one way or the other between forces fairly evenly balanced, were quite helpless when fighting in the open by themselves. I never found out that anything practical was even attempted by most of the men who took part in the conference. Three or four of them, however, did attempt something. The head of one big business corporation attempted to start an effort to control the delegations from New Jersey, North Carolina, and certain Gulf States against me. The head of a great railway system made preparations for a more ambitious effort looking towards the control of the delegations from Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, and California against me. He was a very powerful man financially, but his power politically was much more limited, and he did not really understand his own limitations or the situation itself, whereas I did. He could not have secured a delegate against me from Iowa, Nebraska, or Kansas. In Colorado and California he could have made a fight, but even there I think he would have been completely beaten. However, long before the time for the Convention came round, it was recognized that it was hopeless to make any opposition to my nomination. The effort was abandoned, and I was nominated unanimously. Judge Parker was nominated by the Democrats against me. Practically all the metropolitan newspapers of largest circulation were against me; in New York City fifteen out of every sixteen copies of papers issued were hostile to me. I won by a popular majority of about two million and a half, and in the electoral college carried 330 votes against 136. It was by far the largest popular majority ever hitherto given any Presidential candidate.

THE THIRD TERM QUESTION

My opponents during the campaign had laid much stress upon my supposed personal ambition and intention to use the office of President to perpetuate myself in power. I did not say anything on the subject prior to the election, as I did not wish to say anything that could be construed into a promise offered as a consideration in order to secure votes. But on election night, after the returns were in, I issued the following statement: "The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination."

The reason for my choice of the exact phraseology used was twofold. In the first place, many of my supporters were insisting that, as I had served only three and a half years of my first term, coming in from the Vice-Presidency when President McKinley was killed, I had really had only one elective term, so that the third term custom did not

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apply to me; and I wished to repudiate this suggestion. I believed then (and I believe now) the third term custom or tradition to be wholesome, and, therefore, I was determined to regard its substance, refusing to quibble over the words usually employed to express it. On the other hand, I did not wish simply and specifically to say that I would not be a candidate for the nomination in 1908, because if I had specified the year when I would not be a candidate, it would have been widely accepted as meaning that I intended to be a candidate some other year; and I had no such intention, and had no idea that I would ever be a candidate again. Certain newspaper men did ask me if I intended to apply my prohibition to 1912, and I answered that I was not thinking of 1912, nor of 1920, nor of 1940, and that I must decline to say anything whatever except what appeared in my statement.

The Presidency is a great office, and the power of the President can be effectively used to secure a renomination, especially if the President has the support of certain great political and financial interests. It is for this reason, and this reason alone, that the wholesome principle of continuing in office, so long as he is willing to serve, an incumbent who has proved capable, is not applicable to the Presidency. Therefore the American people have wisely established a custom against allowing any man to hold that office for more than two consecutive terms. But every shred of power which a President exercises while in office vanishes absolutely when he has once left office. An ex-President stands precisely in the position of any other private citizen, and has not one particle more power to secure a nomination or election than if he had never held the office at all—indeed, he probably has less because of the very fact that he has held the office. Therefore the reasoning on which the anti-third term custom is based has no application whatever to an ex-President, and no application whatever to anything except consecutive terms. As a barrier of precaution against more than two consecutive terms the custom embodies a valuable principle. Applied in any other way it becomes a mere formula, and, like all formulas, a potential source of mischievous confusion. Having this in mind, I regarded the custom as applying practically, if not just as much, to a President who had been seven and a half years in office as to one who had been eight years in office, and therefore, in the teeth of a practically unanimous demand from my own party that I accept another nomination, and the reasonable certainty that the nomination would be ratified at the polls, I felt that the substance of the custom applied to me in 1908. On the other hand, it had no application whatever to any human being save where it was invoked in the case of a man desiring a third consecutive term.

Having given such substantial proof of my own regard for the custom, I deem it a duty to add this comment on it. I believe that it is well to have a custom of this kind, to be generally observed, but that it would be very unwise to have it definitely hardened into a Constitutional prohibition. It is not desirable ordinarily that a man should stay in office twelve consecutive years as President; but most certainly the American people are fit to take care of themselves, and stand in no need of an irrevocable self-denying ordinance. They should not bind themselves never to take action which under some quite conceivable circumstances it might be to their great interest to take. It is obviously of the last importance to the safety of a democracy that in time of real peril it should be able to command the service of every one among its citizens in the precise position where the service rendered will be most valuable. It would be a benighted policy in such event to disqualify absolutely from the highest office a man who while holding it had actually shown the highest capacity to exercise its powers with the utmost effect for the public defense. If, for instance, a tremendous crisis occurred at the end of the second term of a man like Lincoln, as such a crisis occurred at the end of his first term, it would be a veritable calamity if the American people were forbidden to continue to use the services of the one man whom they knew, and did not merely guess, could carry them through the crisis. The third term tradition has no value whatever except as it applies to a third consecutive term. While it is well to keep it as a custom, it would be a mark both of weakness and unwisdom for the American people to embody it into a Constitutional provision which could not do them good and on some given occasion might work real harm.

A FAVORITE CARTOON

There was one cartoon made while I was President, in which I appeared incidentally, that was always a great favorite of mine. It pictured an old fellow with

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chin whiskers, a farmer, in his shirt-sleeves, with his boots off, sitting before the fire, reading the President's Message. On his feet were stockings of the kind I have seen hung up by the dozen in Joe Ferris's store at Medora, in the days when I used to come in to town and sleep in one of the rooms over the store. The title of the picture was "His Favorite Author." This was the old fellow whom I always used to keep in my mind. He had probably been in the Civil War in his youth; he had worked hard ever since he left the army; he had been a good husband and father; he had brought up his boys and girls to work; he did not wish to do injustice to any one else, but he wanted justice done to himself and to others like him; and I was bound to secure that justice for him if it lay in my power to do so.[1]

[1] I believe I realized fairly well this ambition. I shall turn to my enemies to attest the truth of this statement. The New York "Sun," shortly before the National Convention of 1904, spoke of me as follows:

"President Roosevelt holds that his nomination by the National Republican Convention of 1904 is an assured thing. He makes no concealment of his conviction, and it is unreservedly shared by his friends. We think President Roosevelt is right.

"There are strong and convincing reasons why the President should feel that success is within his grasp. He has used the opportunities that he found or created, and he has used them with consummate skill and undeniable success.

"The President has disarmed all his enemies. Every weapon they had, new or old, has been taken from them and added to the now unassailable Roosevelt arsenal. Why should people wonder that Mr. Bryan clings to silver? Has not Mr. Roosevelt absorbed and sequestered every vestige of the Kansas City platform that had a shred of practical value? Suppose that Mr. Bryan had been elected President. What could he have accomplished compared with what Mr. Roosevelt has accomplished? Will his most passionate followers pretend for one moment that Mr. Bryan could have conceived, much less enforced, any such pursuit of the trusts as that which Mr. Roosevelt has just brought to a triumphant issue? Will Mr. Bryan himself intimate that the Federal courts would have turned to his projects the friendly countenance which they have lent to those of Mr. Roosevelt?

"Where is 'government by injunction' gone to? The very emptiness of that once potent phrase is beyond description! A regiment of Bryans could not compete with Mr. Roosevelt in harrying the trusts, in bringing wealth to its knees, and in converting into the palpable actualities of action the wildest dreams of Bryan's campaign orators. He has outdone them all.

"And how utterly the President has routed the pretensions of Bryan and of the whole Democratic horde in respect to organized labor! How empty were all their professions, their mouthings and their howlings in the face of the simple and unpretentious achievements of the President! In his own straightforward fashion he inflicted upon capital in one short hour of the coal strike a greater humiliation than Bryan could have visited upon it in a century. He is the leader of the labor unions of the United States. Mr. Roosevelt has put them above the law and above the Constitution, because for him they are the American people." [This last, I need hardly say, is merely a rhetorical method of saying that I gave the labor union precisely the same treatment as the corporation.]

Senator La Follette, in the issue of his magazine immediately following my leaving the Presidency in March, 1909, wrote as follows:

"Roosevelt steps from the stage gracefully. He has ruled his party to a large extent against its will. He has played a large part in the world's work for the past seven years. The activities of his remarkably forceful personality have been so manifold that it will be long before his true rating will be fixed in the opinion of the race. He is said to think that the three great things done by him are the undertaking of the construction of the Panama Canal and its rapid and successful carrying forward, the making of peace between Russia and Japan, and the sending around the world of the fleet.

"These are important things, but many will be slow to think them his greatest services. The Panama Canal will surely serve mankind when in operation; and the manner of organizing this work seems to be fine. But no one can yet say whether this project will be a gigantic success or a gigantic failure; and the task is one which must, in the nature of things, have been undertaken and carried through some time soon, as historic periods go, anyhow. The Peace of Portsmouth was a great thing to be responsible for, and Roosevelt's good offices undoubtedly saved a great and bloody battle in Manchuria. But the war was fought out, and the parties ready to quit, and there is reason to think that it was only when this situation was arrived at that the good offices of the President of the United States were, more or less indirectly, invited. The fleet's cruise was a strong piece of diplomacy, by which we informed Japan that we will send our fleet wherever we please and whenever we please. It worked out well.

"But none of these things, it will seem to many, can compare with some of Roosevelt's other achievements. Perhaps he is loth to take credit as a reformer, for he is prone to spell the word with question marks, and to speak disparagingly of 'reform.'

"But for all that, this contemner of 'reformers' made reform respectable in the United States, and this rebuker of 'muck-rakers' has been the chief agent in making the history of 'muck-raking' in the United States a National one, conceded to be useful. He has preached from the White House many doctrines; but among them he has left impressed on the American mind the one great truth of economic justice couched in the pithy and stinging phrase 'the square deal.' The task of making reform respectable in a commercialized world, and of giving the Nation a slogan in a phrase, is greater than the man who performed it is likely to think.

"And, then, there is the great and statesmanlike movement for the conservation of our National resources, into which Roosevelt so energetically threw himself at a time when the Nation as a whole knew not that we are ruining and bankrupting ourselves as fast as we can. This is probably the greatest thing Roosevelt did, undoubtedly. This globe is the capital stock of the race. It is just so much coal and oil and gas. This may be economized or wasted. The same thing is true of phosphates and other mineral resources. Our water resources are immense, and we are only just beginning to use them. Our forests have been destroyed; they must be restored. Our soils are being depleted; they must be built up and conserved.

"These questions are not of this day only or of this generation. They belong all to the future. Their consideration requires that high moral tone which regards the earth as the home of a posterity to whom we owe a sacred duty.

"This immense idea Roosevelt, with high statesmanship, dinned into the ears of the Nation until the Nation heeded. He held it so high that it attracted the attention of the neighboring nations of the continent, and will so spread and intensify that we will soon see the world's conferences devoted to it.

"Nothing can be greater or finer than this. It is so great and so fine that when the historian of the future shall speak of Theodore Roosevelt he is likely to say that he did many notable things, among them that of inaugurating the movement which finally resulted in the square deal, but that his greatest work was inspiring and actually beginning a world movement for staying terrestrial waste and saving for the human race the things upon which, and upon which alone, a great and peaceful and progressive and happy race life can be founded.

"What statesman in all history has done anything calling for so wide a view and for a purpose more lofty?"

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NATURE MONTH BY MONTH

BY ERNEST INGERSOLL

DECEMBER—MAKING ALL SNUG

WINTER comes sometimes hurriedly and sometimes tardily, but Nature is rarely unready for it. She begins early to make her preparations for an average season; and an excessive one, which now and then overcomes her defenses, is one of the means by which the weak and the surplus are lopped off and the living world is trimmed down to normal proportions.

The special preparations made to endure the frost and famine are many and ingenious. Such are the thick scales on the buds of early-leafing trees, or the coating of buds with a waxy, resinous, or balsamic exudation, impervious to moisture. To guard their tender inner parts against injury by sudden changes of temperature, buds are often lined with a down or wool, which, as a poor conductor of heat or cold, serves the same purpose as the underfur of mammals, and falls away in the spring.

I have called winter the resting-time of the year, and so it is for the plants and animals able to survive it; but they do so at the expense of activity and progress. Roots when chilled absorb water less readily than when warm. This chilling comes on gradually as winter approaches; and as the water-borne food supply they furnish to the plant decreases, the necessary transpiration of vapor from the leaves is lessened, and it is also checked by both the dryness of the winter air and the scarcity of daylight. Presently the roots furnish no more water, for the ground is frozen; the leaves also have fallen; then the protoplasm hardens in the hollow cells, where no moisture remains to freeze and burst the wood. Rid of their leaves, the trees are made ready for the winter's gales, which will hurtle harmlessly through their naked branches instead of overthrowing the trunks by pressure against an expanse of foliage.

A tree thus prepared has really become dormant from lack of nourishment; and that is the secret of the hibernation of our animals. But true hibernators are few, as distinguished from such mammals as the beaver, the muskrat, the ground-squirrels, and the field-mice, which now retire to winter quarters stored with garnered food. The hibernators are small creatures that depend upon green stuff, as the woodchucks, certain mice, and lemmings, or else, as in the case of the badger and the skunk, such as live upon insects and other small prey now safely beyond their reach. The bear "dens up" only after even his broad bill of fare has been exhausted.

The many mammals and birds that brave this season of cold and famine—hunger, not cold, is the main factor in their problem—are forearmed in several interesting ways. The winter plumage of our birds is denser and more closely interlocked than that which follows the spring molt, and it is almost always of a protective hue, for now the birds cannot find the concealment of foliage. The waterfowl acquire a new downy undergrowth, water-proof and heat-retaining. It is with this underwear, which becomes loose toward spring, that the ducks furnish their nests with blankets for their eggs and young. Thus we utilize it at third hand when we gather eider-down for quilts.

Birds sometimes acquire at this time certain special parts to aid them during the impending bad season. Thus the fringes of sharp points that grow in the autumn on the toes of the ruffed grouse, and the stiff feathers that clothe the feet of the ptarmigan, furnish these birds with snow-shoes, lacking which they could hardly run upon the snow or easily dig beneath it, as they must do when searching for the buds and berries that sustain their lives. A very interesting relation exists between birds of this class and the group of bushes whose fruits mature very late and hang on all winter. The feet of northern hares are provided with similar snow-shoes by an extra growth of long, stiff hairs, and the hoofs of the snow-tramping caribou are broadened.

The turning white in this month of almost every animal abroad in the snowy regions is a provision for winter so familiar that it hardly needs to be mentioned.

Following the months as they have revolved under "the starry girdle of the year" has now brought us to the end of the list, and to the finale of the annual rhythm whose

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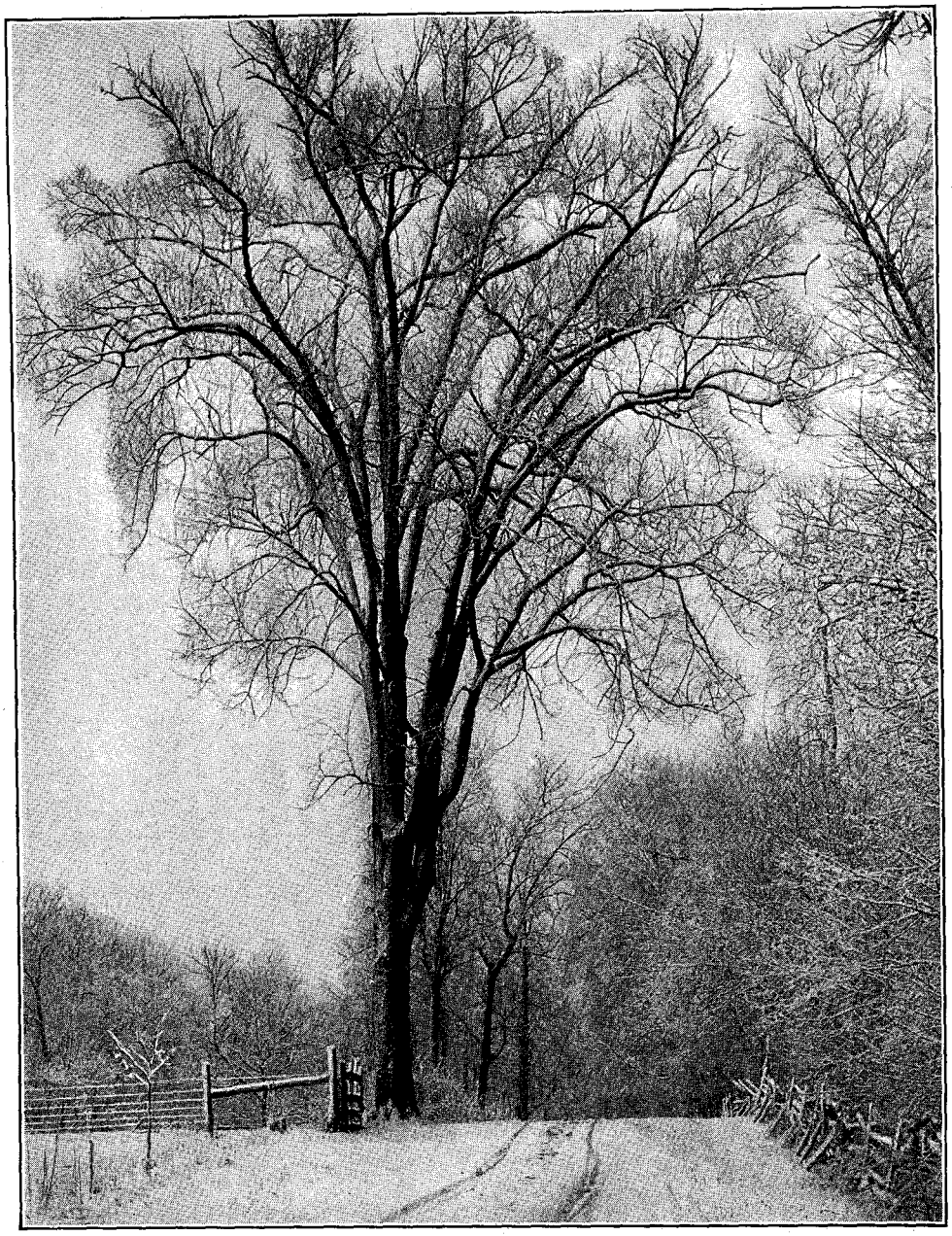

PHOTOGRAPH BY J. KABEL

"THE TREES ARE MADE READY FOR THE WINTER'S GALES, WHICH WILL HURTLE HARMLESSLY THROUGH THEIR NAKED BRANCHES"

theme is simple, however much it may stir the imaginative soul. In winter the world of our temperate latitudes rests and recuperates. In spring it awakes at the kiss of the sun, as the old myth teaches; and then its progress from sprout to leaf, and leaf to flower, and then to fruit, is accompanied by the rhythmical development of the animal life which depends upon it for food, and thus for the ability to reproduce itself, "each after its own kind." That one primal and all-sufficient duty done, in adjustment to the cosmic time-allotment, the organic world sinks into the repose of winter until the time for its repetition comes again.

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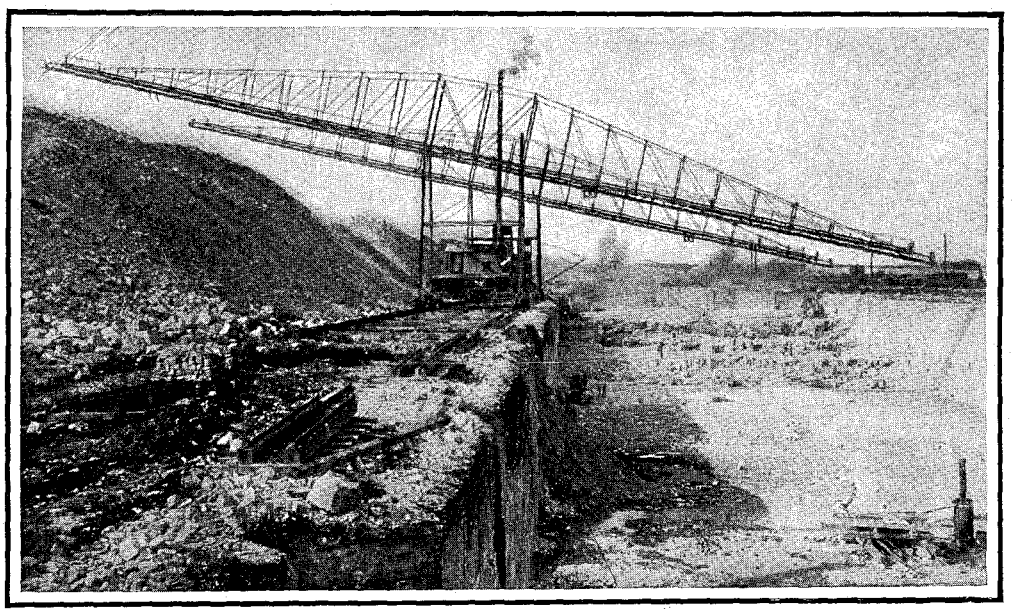
MAKING MONEY OUT OF PATENTS

BY WALDEMAR KAEMPFFERT

TO invent a successful device is one thing; to make money out of it, another. It is no easy matter to sell an invention that means a change in a time-honored way of manufacturing bedposts or of boiling eggs. The man who invented the vacuum cleaner had to fight rusty household conservatism that found the old broom "good enough." Try and kick up something new and you are bound to stub your toe against the brick concealed beneath the high hat of prejudice. Steam coaches ran successfully in England in 1824. Parliament passed the "Road Locomotive Act," decreeing that a man with a red flag must precede a motor-driven vehicle and prohibiting a speed greater than four miles an hour. Thus the automobile was ditched for more than half a century. There are men still alive who can remember the derision that greeted the proposals to telegraph across the Atlantic and to build ships of iron. It took a Niagara of advertising to convince us that a piano could be acceptably played with air instead of flexible fingers trained for years; that a watch costing only a dollar would actually keep time; that a safety razor would mow chin bristles. It takes as much ingenuity to market an invention as to create it.

Just how that ingenuity shall be exercised depends much upon the character of the invention. A loom that costs $20,000 to manufacture cannot be sold as if it were a breakfast food. There may be only fifty possible buyers in the whole country, and of these perhaps not ten could write a check for the purchase price.

That situation is encountered time and time again. It was encountered, for example, during the building of the Chicago Drainage Canal. Contractors who bid on rock excavation were told that their tenders must not exceed eighty cents a cubic yard. Rock had never been excavated before at that price under the same conditions. The apparently impossible could be accomplished by a combination of two inventions—the cableway and the cantilever, later used with success at Panama. Of these the cantilever cost $28,000. Few contractors could afford to pay that sum. Accordingly the manufacturer leased the machine, with the result that contractors ultimately excavated rock at fifty-six cents a cubic yard: the State of Illinois



THE CANTILEVER EXCAVATOR

This excavator cost $28,000. By its means the Chicago Drainage Canal was dug at an unprecedentedly cheap rate

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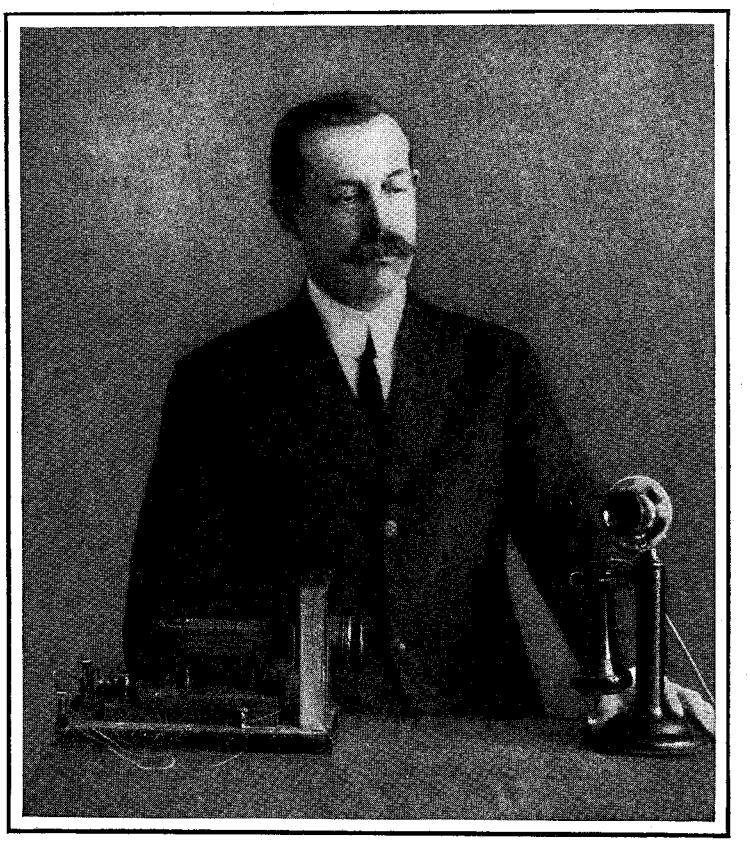

THE FIRST TELEPHONE AND THE MODERN TELEPHONE

To the left is Professor Alexander Graham Bell's telephone of 1877, with its casing removed; to the right, the modern desk telephone. Bell's instrument was used both as a receiver and transmitter; hence it was necessary first to talk into the mouthpiece and then apply one's ear to it, in order to listen. Great as this difference is between the two instruments, Professor Bell's receiver is identical in principle with that employed to-day

saved about five million dollars, and the manufacturer made more money out of his machines than if he had sold them outright.

But leasing is not always effective. The United States Government, the biggest of all contractors, will not pay royalties. It insists on owning its own machinery. Edison has invented a powerful rock-crusher which can pulverize a twenty-ton boulder. On the whole continent there is not a market for a dozen such machines, and the profits on the dozen would not pay the expense of the hundreds of experiments made before the crusher became a practicable machine. Colonel Goethals wanted to buy such a crusher for breaking rock to be used in constructing the Gatun Dam in Panama. Edison asked a small royalty for each ton of rock crushed, a sum that amounted to but a small fraction of the saving that would be effected. The negotiations failed.

Leasing is probably the most approved business method of placing a complicated machine on the market. The most important machines used in shoe manufacturing are welters and stitchers. These are leased and never sold—leased, moreover, on such conditions that the welter may not be used with a competing stitcher, nor the stitcher with a competing welter. About five and three-quarter cents for every pair of shoes made by these machines is paid by shoe manufacturers in royalties. In addition to the welter and stitcher the shoe machinery patentees place at the disposal of the shoe manufacturer some twenty-six auxiliary machines, which he may or may not use as he sees fit, and for which only a nominal rental is charged, varying from $5 to $35 a year—barely enough to pay for wear and tear. These auxiliary machines, however, may not be used unless the welter and stitcher are leased. Such "tying" clauses in leases were invented long before the modern trust was

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conceived. Although their legality is now being subjected to judicial scrutiny under the Sherman Law, it cannot be denied that the leasing system has enabled many a poor man who could not afford to buy machinery to engage in shoe manufacturing with little capital.

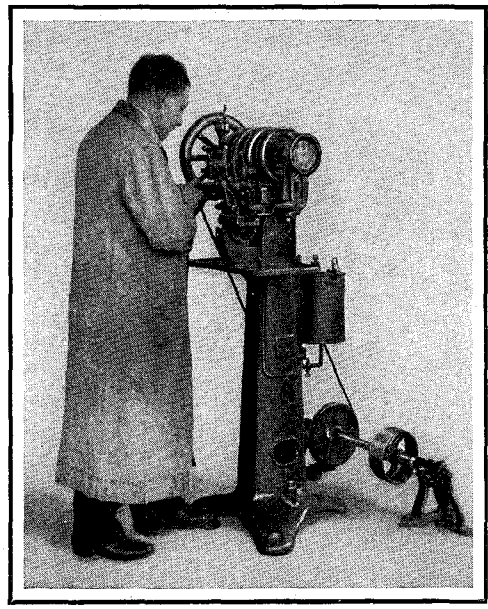
In the testimony taken in the now famous "Dick-Henry case" we learned of still another method of marketing patented machinery, a method which consists in selling a device at less than cost and compelling the purchaser to buy from the manufacturer whatever supplies may be necessary to operate the device. If supplies bought in the open market are used, the patent is infringed, because the inventor or his assignee has the exclusive constitutional right to use the machine in any way that he himself sees fit and has permitted the purchaser to use the machine only in a certain prescribed way. So the courts have held time and time again in cases decided long before Dick vs. Henry aroused comment.

Few inventors have ever grown rich by reason of the royalties that have been paid to them. To make a fortune out of a new tool or a new folding-bed the inventor must become a manufacturer. Even Edison would not be a wealthy man to-day if he had sold his more important inventions instead of manufacturing them himself. His method is that adopted by most knowing patentees. The presses used in the Government's mints for coining metals are produced and sold by their inventor, Oberlin Smith. In Pawtucket, Rhode Island, is a prosperous plant built by the two inventors of successful metal-shaping machinery. The instruments used in telephone central stations to record the duration of a conversation were invented by a man who is president of the company by which they are made.

None of these inventions was ever introduced in its initial form. Whether it be a collar button or a locomotive, a battle-ship or a tin whistle, an invention never leaps out of the Jovian head of the inventor a perfect mechanical Minerva. Its fruition is often a process of years. The first telephone produced by Alexander Graham Bell could hardly transmit speech. Years of patient laboratory work and millions in money were expended in developing a system of communication that will handle a million and a half calls a day in New York alone; that will enable an operator to connect two subscribers in a city in less than fifteen seconds; and that has made it possible to talk more than two-thirds of the way across the North American continent.

Thomas A. Watson, one of the pioneer telephone engineers of this country and an assistant of Bell's, draws this picture of the first demonstration made between Boston and New York in 1877:

> Our laboratory was on the upper floor of a boarding-house in Boston. The house was full of boarders, whom we had disturbed quite seriously with all sorts of noisy experiments. I realized that since I had to do the shouting of my life that night, I would have to do something to muffle the noise. I took the blankets off my bed and Dr. Bell's and arranged a sort of tent over my big telephone with five thicknesses of blanket. When I got the signal from Dr. Bell in New York that he was ready to hear me, I crawled in under my blanket tent, and for two mortal hours I shouted to him.



A LEASED MACHINE FOR SHOE MANUFACTURING

This is an outsole rapid lock-stitch machine, used to fasten the outsole with a lock-stitch to the welt in making a welt shoe. The machine was developed, at a cost of many thousands of dollars, by professional inventors

It takes imagination to see the possibilities of a great invention. The telephone seemed so unpromising in 1877 that the Western Union Telegraph Company refused Bell's offer of $100,000 for his patents. A newspaper editor, Frederick Gower, who had a contract now worth millions for the exclusive use of the telephone in New England, gladly exchanged his contract rights with Mr. Gardiner Hubbard,

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the financial backer of the first telephone company, for the exclusive privilege of *lecturing* on the telephone for the whole United States. He had that right without asking for it.

In a patent-infringement suit involving the Mergenthaler linotype the brilliant Judge Coxe went out of his way to comment on the crudity of epoch-making inventions and the systematic improvements necessary before they could be commercially introduced. Not only was the Morse telegraph a fit subject for a museum within a few months after its first feeble success, but the Howe sewing-machine, he announced from the bench, could not be successfully used by any woman for ten years after the patent was granted. Yet both Morse and Howe are deservedly regarded as great American inventors.

THE ARTIFICIAL DAYLIGHT LAMP

After years of experimenting, Dr. Herbert E. Ives has invented a lamp the radiations of which are the equivalent of artificial daylight. The invention consists in the use of colored screens which sift out those rays of an ordinary tungsten filament lamp which are undesirable. Before artificial daylight was thus attained no gem expert would buy a diamond late in the afternoon, no artist would paint after four o'clock, no color printer would attempt to manipulate inks, no dry-goods merchant would try to match fabrics, except in full daylight

It took ten years to produce a press on which the colored covers of our magazines could be printed at one operation. Colored reproductions of paintings are usually made by printing three or four colors, one after another, the paper being allowed to dry after each printing. With the rotary multicolor press, white paper is fed in at one end, and emerges at the other completely printed. Such presses had been used for very rough work, but were utterly unadapted in their original form for fine magazine-cover printing. The most skillful pressman and engraver in the United States were engaged to solve the basic problem of preparing printing plates so that no "make-ready," as it is called in the trade, would be necessary. By 1901 a self-printing plate had been invented. Next came the problem of bringing it to commercial perfection—a problem that involved three years of patient, expensive, heart-breaking experimenting. A special hydraulic press had to be built, and other special machines as the experiments called for them. Then it was discovered that the press was not strong enough. An entirely new one had to be designed and constructed. Next it was found that the idea of printing one wet color upon another was impracticable with the printing inks on the market. An ink chemist was employed, who spent over a year in the unsuccessful effort to produce inks of the desired character. After he failed, a practical printing ink maker was engaged, who finally succeeded after many months. Even though the process, the press, and the inks seemed perfect, no satisfactory results could be obtained. It was discovered that the arrangement of the printing cylinders was at fault. Because they were arranged vertically, so that the lowest one was near the floor and the uppermost one near the ceiling, they were subjected to different degrees of temperature, which affected the working of the inks. A new press had to be designed and built with horizontal cylinders, all lying in the same zone of temperature, and then, at last, success was assured—but only success in solving the problem of printing several colors at one operation. The problem of selling the press had not even been attacked.

The manufacturer found it difficult to interest publishers and printers in his method of printing four-color magazine covers at one operation. They came and watched the press, marveled at its performances, but did nothing. They refused to believe their own eyes. In sheer desperation he had to install the press at his own expense in a large pub-

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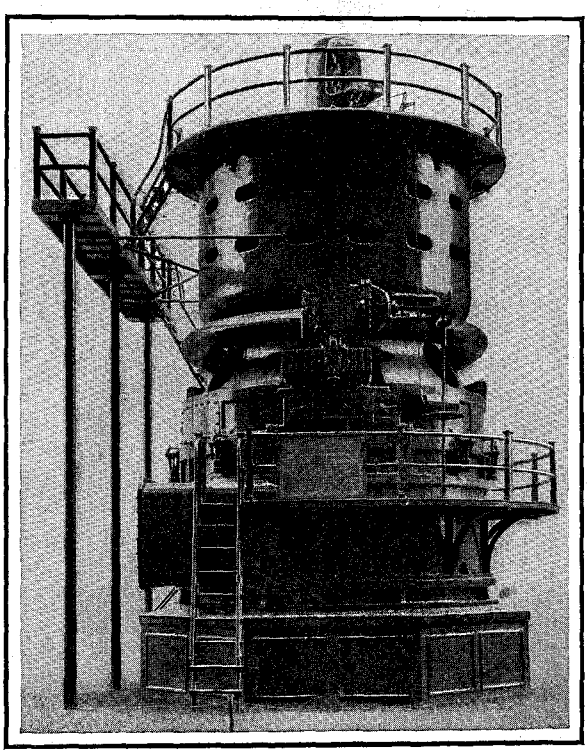
lishing house and to furnish his experience and assistance in trying it out. Even then the machine ran for nine months every day before the publisher was really convinced that it could do his work.

The same story is repeated over and over again even with insignificant toys, hardware novelties, tools, and the like. A half-dozen patented safety razors are at present competing with one another on the market. The perfection of each has cost a king's ransom. On one of them the sum of two million dollars is said to have been spent to make it marketable, and as yet without avail. The most widely advertised and most widely sold safety razor is the successful outcome of seven years' hard work — seven years spent not simply in producing the original invention, but in tempering thin steel, in producing a handle to hold the blade, in devising machine tools that would stamp blades out of a ribbon of steel. Few patented inventions have ever been brought to a marketable condition in less than ten years, and no invention is ever made exactly in the form described in the patent. It seems no astounding feat to apply ball-bearings to a carpet-sweeper, so that the machine can be pushed over a floor easily. Yet that rather simple improvement meant thirteen years of inventive effort on the part of the foremost manufacturer of carpet-sweepers in this country. About fifty-one thousand dollars in money and six years in time were spent in devising a watch that would keep time and that could be sold for a dollar. The smallest practicable typewriter on the market made its appearance only after an outlay of $400,000.

Many inventions are the result of a single excursion into the field of invention—not because the patentees are discouraged by the obstacles that they encounter, but because they are intellectually exhausted. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said that every man had at least one novel in him. He might have added that most of us also possess creative ability enough to evolve at least one invention. Just as many a novelist exhausts himself with a single splendid piece of fiction, so many an inventor's ingenuity is spent in enriching his day and generation with but a single contrivance. Howe is remembered for his sewing-machine, and for nothing else; Bell, for the telephone alone; Morse, simply for the telegraph.

It is curious, too, how many of these men were not academically trained engineers or mechanics. Apparently, if you would invent a telephone, you must not be an electrician, but a teacher of deaf-mutes, as Bell was when he came to this country. If you would devise a telegraph you must emulate Morse and achieve distinction as a portrait-painter. If you would enrich the world with a phonograph, a moving-picture machine, an incandescent electric light, and nine hundred other successful inventions, you must begin, it would almost seem from the history of invention, as Edison did, by selling newspapers on trains and picking up your electricity, your chemistry, and your mechanics as best you can.



THE FIRST STEAM TURBINE ENGINE

Eight years of time and about five millions in dollars were spent before this first large Curtis steam turbine was built. The engine, which was originally installed in a Chicago power-house from 1901 to 1904, is now erected in the yards of its manufacturer to commemorate the beginning of the turbine industry in America. The sum of $1,500,000 was paid for the Curtis patents alone. Several millions more were then spent in experimenting and in improving the first machine built according to the patent

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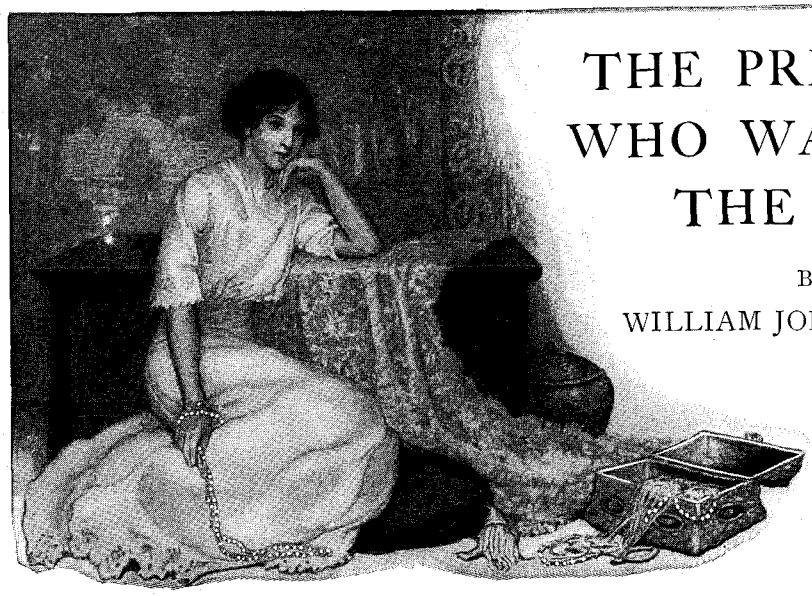

THE PRINCESS WHO WANTED THE MOON

BY

WILLIAM JOHN HOPKINS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY GERTRUDE A. KAY

ONCE upon a time there was a little princess. Her mother, the queen, was dead long ago, oh, very long ago—ages ago, in fact, for she died when the little princess was only a baby; and that must have been a very long time ago, for the little princess had got to be eighteen years old. And when one is eighteen years old it is a very long time since one was a baby. Anybody knows that. The king, her father, was not dead. On the contrary, he was very much alive. But he was very busy indeed, and rarely came home, which was about the same as being dead so far as the little princess was concerned.

For the king, her father, was a great engineer, who had to be going about the world all the time—or most of it—looking at rivers, or the places where rivers ought to be, and at dams, and at deep holes in the ground where rivers would be as soon as they turned the water in, and at locks and canals and such things. To be sure, he had a salary of nearly a million dollars a year for looking at these things; but what is a million dollars a year compared with a little princess of your very own? And will looking at holes in the ground, even at such a fabulous salary as a million dollars a year, be as pleasant for a king as looking at his princess? It was too bad for the king, too, for he was a good king and a pleasant man—when he was at home. I don't know what sort of a man he was when he was looking at the dams and the rivers, for I never saw him when he was looking at them. I say that it was bad for the king, of course, but it was very much worse for the princess.

I am sorry for that king, and for any other king who thinks he has to earn a million dollars a year that is likely—no, sure—to keep him from the little princes and princesses for years at a time. There is a lot of pleasure to be got out of merely watching princes and princesses, especially if they are your very own, and seeing them grow—though that is sad, too, to see them growing up so fast—and seeing about proper schools for them, and seeing that they have the kind of teachers that they ought to have for their music and their dancing and the rest. And it is lots of fun to teach them, yourself, to skate and to swim and to ride a horse and to sail a boat. I know; and that is why I am so sorry for this king, for he didn't seem to know. If he had known, he would have taken that salary of a million dollars for just one year, and then he would have settled down to see about the teaching of his little princess—his very own.

Now, this little princess that I am telling about was a very pretty, fetching little princess, and, of course, she had almost everything that she wanted—which was entirely fitting, when the king, her father, made so much money every year; and she had some things she did not want—and that was fitting, too. She had nurses without end, when she was a child, and one special nurse that seemed to be without end, for she stayed

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with the princess for a very long time; in fact, she was still staying with her when the princess was eighteen, and she acted as if she meant to stay on as long as she lived. And the princess thought that was nice—generally; once in a while she got out of sorts with her faithful old nurse and wished that she would take it into her head to go away. But that wish lasted only a little while, and the nurse didn't go. Indeed, I don't know where she would have gone to, for she had lived with the princess for so many years that she hadn't any other home. Her own home had gone all to rack and ruin long before and she had forgotten it.

And, besides this special nurse without end, the princess had some aunts, who came and went, and whom she never got to feeling that she knew very well; for just as she was beginning to know them they would up stakes and go away, and a perfectly brand-new aunt would come, that she had never seen, or at any rate had not seen for two years at least. And she had some uncles, of course, but they didn't count, anyway, for they were always away at their offices and she scarcely knew them by sight. And there was a cousin or two, but they weren't of much more use than the uncles.

And besides the aunts and the uncles and the cousin or two and the nurse—her special nurse—the princess had horses and automobiles and a yacht that was big enough for an ocean steamer, and men servants and maid servants, and everything else that usually goes with a million dollars a year; everything *except* the thing that she wanted the most of all, and that she could not get, although she tried as hard as ever she could, and that was very hard indeed.

One day the princess was sitting in her room, among all her beautiful things, moping and thinking upon her lot, and thinking how very hard it was that, with all the million dollars a year, she could not get the thing she wanted the most. And she thought that, if she had no more than a thousand dollars a year, or even five hundred—or nothing a year—she would stand a better chance of getting the thing she wanted so badly.

Thinking that, she pouted a little and looked as if she wanted to cry; which you would have hoped she would not do, for that would have made her look unhappy instead of merely out of sorts, and would not have been fitting at all. For this little princess seemed made for happiness and not at all for unhappiness, and her eyes were not the kind for tears, although she would have looked very fetching and touching still, even if she were crying; that is, unless her tears were tears of real, downright grief, and then your heart would have nearly broken to see her. She had not lived long enough yet to weep such tears. She wanted to cry because she did not have what she wanted, as a child cries for the moon; but it was a *very* nice moon and she did want it so! And, just as she had got to this point in her thoughts, her nurse came in. But I suppose I should not call her a nurse any longer. The princess had given up calling her a nurse long ago, and I don't know what she did call her; and, not knowing what else to call her, I must call her a nurse.

She saw that something was wrong as soon as she came in. "What's the matter with my lamb?" asked the nurse. Such an absurd way of speaking to a princess as the nurse had!

The princess was so absorbed in thinking of her hard lot that she forgot to notice how absurd the nurse's words were. "Oh, Martha," she said, "I wish that I hadn't a cent in the world, not a *cent!*" she said.

What an absurd thing for a princess to say! But the nurse didn't seem to think it absurd. She put her arms about the little princess. "What's the old money been doing to my dearie now?" said she.

And as the princess was just about to answer, being very sorry for herself—which is a dangerous state to get into—she happened to look out of the window.

"Oh!" she cried, and straightened up.

And her tears fled away, and the tightness at her throat was gone, and she smiled, oh, so sweetly! all by herself. For Martha, the old nurse, didn't count, of course. It was a pity that there was no one to see but Martha, for she had seen the princess smile many times, although it is to be doubted if even she had ever seen her smile like that. Somebody ought to have been there to see it. And Martha looked out of the window, naturally, to see what was the cause of that smile, and then she knew.

For somebody was out there in the snow, plowing joyfully through it; and he had a smile on his face, too, a wholly impersonal smile. And the princess knew that the smile on Somebody's face was not for her, but she didn't care—he wasn't looking up,

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SHE PUT HER ARMS ABOUT THE LITTLE PRINCESS

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and he didn't know that she was there, of course—although that was little comfort to her; but she tried to think it was, and that, if he knew, he would look up at her. He really ought to have looked. She would have been glad if that smile of Somebody's had been for her—she would have been overjoyed. But, anyway, he was smiling.

And so she stood up there at her window. Of course she didn't wave at him or do anything of that kind. She only thought—or she didn't consciously think, either; she *felt* that a movement at her window might make him look up. And so it did, and he raised his hat and smiled the more. Who could have helped it? For the princess looked so young and bright, standing there, not pouting and wanting to cry, but smiling and smiling down at him just as much as she dared. A princess has to be very careful how she distributes her smiles about, and must give some of them to each one of her suitors, and not save them all for Somebody who is not a suitor at all. The little princess had suitors enough, goodness knows, as all princesses must have, just because they are princesses; and, if they are as lovely as our little princess was, the suitors must be without end, just as the nurses were. It was rather a pity that, after having so many of them, the one she wanted the most—the only one she wanted—should not be among them. For, as it was, suitors were one of the things the princess had that she did not want. She wanted the moon, instead.

Martha, the nurse, saw it all. She had not known it before. And when Somebody had passed on, the little princess turned to her and threw herself into Martha's arms, that were always ready for her—always ready and waiting.

"Oh, why," cried the princess, "couldn't he have stopped? Why couldn't he have stopped and come in? Any of the rest of them would have—when I almost asked him to. It was just the same as asking. And I can't run after him."

And she cried a little there with Martha's arms about her, and with Martha saying all sorts of foolish things to her. Such foolish things to say to a princess who has a million dollars a year!

"My little girl!" she said. "My poor lamb! Martha's dear little lamb!" And she rocked to and fro, as if it had been seventeen years earlier. But the princess seemed to find it comforting. She raised her head suddenly and smiled through her tears; a very determined smile. You would not have expected it of her.

"I will," she cried. "I will."

"Will what?" asked Martha.

"Run after him," answered the princess. "Can't you call the car, Martha? And tell him to hurry with it. That's a dear Martha!"

Martha considered for a minute—a very short minute—looking at the princess the while. And the princess looked very wistful, and very pitiful, and very sweet, so that Martha smiled at her. After all, what harm?

"Well," she said, sighing, "I will call the car. But I must go with you." And she rose.

The princess was all smiles now. "Why, of course," she cried. "Of course you're to go. Now I must get ready. I won't be three minutes."

And Martha went to the telephone and called the car; but Clement, thinking, naturally enough, that the car would not be wanted in that snow-storm, had its insides out on the floor, and they could not be put in again in less than half an hour. So Martha called Michael and told him to bring the horses around at once to take the princess out. And because Michael loved the princess dearly, and would have done anything in the world for her—anything that he could do—he would have tried anything whether he could do it or not, even to standing on his head in that snow-storm before her window, if she only expressed a wish for it; and Michael was getting on in years, and he was getting rather stout, too, and very dignified, as was fitting for a coachman to the king—because Michael loved the princess dearly, I say, he hurried, and he was at the door in a jiffy, before ever you would have thought it possible to get the harness on.

And the princess was waiting at the door, and Martha was ready and waiting too, although I don't see how she had time to get her things on. And the footman jumped down before the horses had stopped, but he was not quick enough for the princess, and it was all he could do to get to the side of the sleigh, to say nothing of getting up the steps to the great door of the house.

But the princess didn't mind that; she never minded such small matters. And now she was in such a hurry to be off. She smiled at both of the men. "Merry Christmas, James!"

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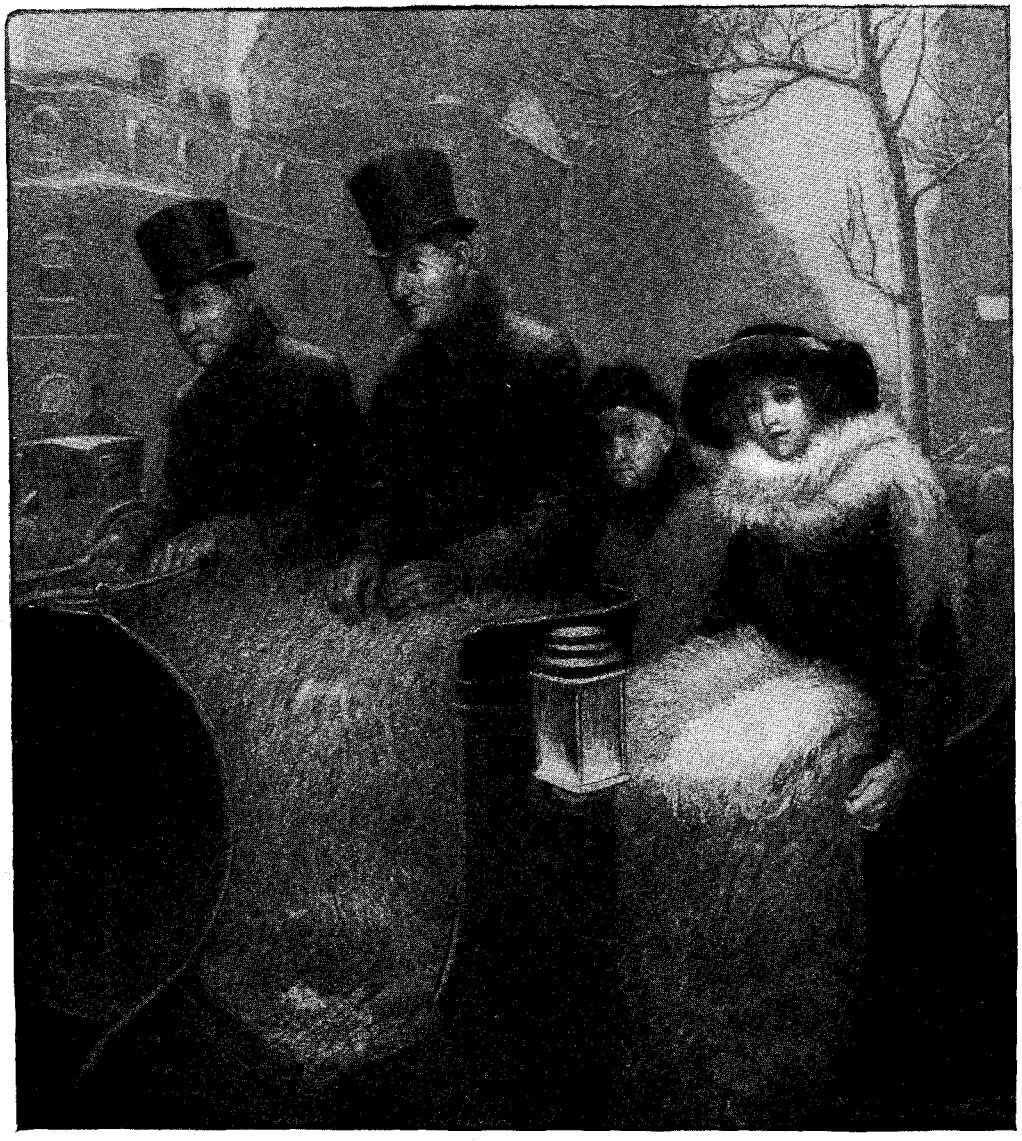

SHE SAT UP SUDDENLY, VERY STRAIGHT. "OH!" SHE CRIED. "OH!"

she said, "And merry Christmas, Michael! It's a fine snow-storm."

And both of the men were so pleased, and they both said something, they hardly knew what, and they both smiled until you thought it must have hurt them, they smiled so wide. And James tucked the furs about the princess and Martha, and jumped up beside Michael just in time.

"Straight ahead, Michael," cried the princess, "and hurry!"

So Michael hurried, and the horses went fast, and their bells made a merry sound, and the snow came softly down, and altogether the princess found herself feeling rather glad and joyful before she knew it. But they didn't catch Somebody, although they went straight ahead until they were out of the city. And the princess didn't feel glad any longer, but she felt as listless as it was possible for a girl to feel who was eighteen years old, and who was as well as could be, and who was out sleighing in that snow-storm.

When they had gone so far that the princess knew that they must have missed Somebody, she told Michael to go around by another way and home. This other way was

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by a poor sort of street, but the princess thought that she didn't care now; indeed, she would rather go home by a poor sort of street than not. She couldn't see much ahead, Michael and James sat up so high. But she didn't care about seeing ahead. And as she sat looking out at the side, and not thinking of anything in particular, suddenly she saw him. He was very near. In a moment more they would have been past him, and that would have been too bad, for then they would have had to turn around, and that would have been a little—marked; but the princess would have done it.

She sat up suddenly, very straight. "Oh!" she cried. "Oh!" There was a fine rosy color in her cheeks; more, you would have thought, than could be accounted for by the day and the storm and the going fast and the bells. "Oh, Michael!"

And Michael looked around, and he understood; but he didn't smile, not the least little bit. That was to his credit. And he pulled up his horses and drew up to the curb.

"Good-morning," said the little princess, smiling brightly—but a little timidly. She had never done so much as this before.

"Good-morning," said Somebody, bowing low, his hat in his hand. For Somebody had stopped and come to the curb to meet the sleigh. It would have been very, very rude not to. "I hope your Royal Highness is very well this morning." And he bowed to Martha, too.

The princess laughed aloud at that. "Such nonsense!" she said. "I am *not* a royal highness; only a poor, lonely girl—the little girl you used to play with. Is it five years or—but where are you going? Can't we take you?"

"Heaven forbid!" said he. "Who am I that I should ride in the royal sleigh with the princess?" But he smiled as he spoke so that his words didn't hurt the princess—not so very much.

"Well," said the princess, "well—and if you won't let us take you, how—" Her courage gave out there. She could not ask him that.

"But," said he again, "if your high mightiness would condescend to be a common person, like me—"

"Ah," said the little princess, sighing wistfully, "I should like that—to be like you. But," she added, smiling again, "you know I am not a common person."

He was not smiling now. "I know it." He was very serious, far too serious. "I know it. And that is why."

He lifted his hat again, and again he smiled, impersonally. "I wish you a merry Christmas and all good things—and Martha too." His manner was quite different when he spoke to Martha. It was almost affectionate. "Good-by."

He was turning away. The princess was frightened. If he was going to be stupid enough to take her at her word!

"Oh, wait!" she cried; it was almost an entreaty. "It isn't a merry Christmas at all. It is very rude of you to go away so, when I—when I have—stopped you." You might have thought, from her voice, that there were tears in her eyes, but there weren't. Her eyes only looked frightened, though I don't know what there was to frighten her.

"What were you going to say—if I were a common person?"

"Like me," he corrected.

"Like you," said the princess, nodding slowly. She had hard work not to say "I" before "like;" but it wouldn't have done, and, besides, it wouldn't have been strictly true—and there were Michael and James. "Well?"

"Why, I was about to say," he continued, "that, if you would only be a common person like me, and if we were to play together again, you wouldn't mind walking—you and Martha."

The princess looked at Martha, a light in her eyes. Martha smiled at her.

"Walking in this storm—this gentle storm—is very nice," he said, enticingly.

"Well, why not, Martha?" asked the princess. "Will you go? Would you just as lief?"

"Bless you, dearie," answered Martha, "I'd liefer."

For Martha, you know, wasn't of the royal family, and she got very tired of riding in carriages and motor cars and sleighs.

And they got out into the snow—James had to be spry about getting down to them—and the little princess spoke to Michael.

"You may as well go home, Michael," she said. "We will walk."

So Michael drove off; and if he and James had something to talk about it is not to be wondered at. And if you had been there, behind Michael, you might have heard a great deal about blessing her little heart, and hoping that she might be happy in her own way, though you might be excused for thinking that a princess with a million dollars a year would have nothing left to wish for.

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Indeed, why she should not have been happy —very happy—and in her own way, I cannot imagine. A person, to be truly happy, must do it in his own way—or hers—and not in another's. But it is to be supposed that Michael and James didn't know what they were talking about, anyway.

When Michael had driven off, the little princess drew a long breath and breathed it out in a long, shivering sigh of happiness, and laughed a little laugh of happiness and turned to Somebody—or no, I am mistaken. She could not have turned to him then, for she was turned toward him already.

"Well," she said; "and *now* where are you—are we going?"

He was standing still in the snow, looking at her; he just looked at her and didn't say a word. And the little princess got redder and redder, for, at first, she thought she saw a light in his eyes—but that was only at first. Afterward she didn't see it, for she looked away.

"Don't you know," she said, softly, coming a little bit nearer to him—just a tiny bit nearer—"that it is very rude to stare so? And you haven't answered my question. Where are we going now?"

"I beg your pardon," he said, coming to himself. "I forgot. I *was* going out this road a bit to see an old servant of ours; but now, I—don't know—I can go later."

He spoke slowly, still looking at her, feasting his eyes, as if he saw her for the first time in years and was glad to see her again. And so he did and so he was, gladder even than he had thought he should be. He hadn't expected to see her—so close—ever again; he hadn't meant to.

"No, go now," said the little princess, "and I—we will go with you. It must be somebody I know. Do I?"

"Yes," he answered, "you know him—and her."

"Oh!" cried the princess. "Is it—well, come on, then."

So they started off, walking briskly, with Martha at a discreet distance behind them. And just what is a discreet distance I don't know. It depends; but Martha walked just out of hearing—if they spoke low. The little princess thought she never had known such a beautiful day for walking. Everything was just as lovely as it could be. They had not spoken for some time; but the princess had a question that bothered her.

"What was it," she asked—she spoke low, too—"that you forgot? You know you said that you—"

He smiled. He knew exactly. "I said that I forgot. I forgot the five years. For a moment you were the little girl I used to play with, and you were not a little princess at all—"

"Oh," cried the princess, interrupting, "I'm not, now. I'm not a princess at all. And—"

"And you weren't so rich, either—not nearly so rich," he interrupted in his turn. "Ah, your Royal Highness," he said, and his voice was cold and warm and serious and mocking all at once, "why couldn't you have stayed so, and not have grown so hopelessly affluent?"

"If you want to make me cry," said the princess in a stifled little voice, "you will keep on."

"God forbid!" cried he; and he looked down at her. "What am I that I should make your Royal Highness cry?"

And as he looked at her he saw two tears roll down upon the snow, and then two more. She looked up at him. Her eyes were swimming.

"Oh, *don't*," she cried. "*I* can't help being rich, can I? I *hate* it all—positively *hate* it. Oh, I wish I didn't have a cent—not one cent!"

"If you didn't have a cent," he said, "I could—it would be easier, wouldn't it? Forgive me. Will you?"

He took her hand and drew it within his arm; but Martha was farther behind than ever, and she seemed to be interested in watching the falling snow. The princess was happy again.

"I will," she said; "and you must promise me something too. *Always* forget the five years and that I am rich—richer than I was. Will you always forget it? You haven't come to any of my parties in all that time, and I have asked you to every single one—every single one. Why haven't you come? And why do I never see you at other places? When you are there, you don't come near me. Why?"

He said nothing for some time; for so long a time that the princess glanced up at him rather fearfully. He was looking down at her, and his look was very tender and pitying—for both. But then he was very much older than the princess—four whole years older—and he saw things differently.

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It was to be expected that a mature man of twenty-two, who was no prince, would see some things in life that a princess, who was intent upon nothing more than her own happiness, would not see. Poor princesses! For there is nothing else for them to think of; and how seldom—how very seldom they attain it!

She just gave one glance and then looked down, and he spoke, very soberly and solemnly.

"Princess," he said, "you must know why. It was not because I didn't want to. You may be sure of that. But what chance would I have—honestly and honorably—what would be thought of me? What—"

The little princess was clinging fast to his arm. She did not look at him. "You would have as good a chance as the others," she said, in a voice so low that he had to stoop to hear it. "You would have a better chance—much better." She was very red, that little princess, when she had done, and her voice was very faint indeed.

He was rather white and there were lines about his mouth that suddenly made him look old—even older than twenty-two. But what he was doing was hard for him—as hard as it would be for you or me to do something less foolish, perhaps. Who is to judge what is wise and what is foolish? And he thought that he was about to do something rather noble.

"Princess," he said, gently, bending down to her, "listen. You have a right to hear it. I love you. It has been growing for three years. But you are very rich, and I—am not. I would not do. I am not fit—not fit. Your father would think so—and he would be right enough. I can give you up if I must—if I stay away; and I must."

"But I don't *want* to be given up," cried the princess. "I *won't* be given up! And my father *wouldn't*—if I wanted—" She broke off there. She almost broke down. She had gone white, too, with fear. But she would have the moon yet. To the little princess the moon seemed greatly to be desired.

She stopped and faced him, forgetting Martha, there behind; forgetting all but the one thing that was more important to her than everything else in the world. She was not concerned about doing something noble. It was only her happiness that was slipping away. But she would not let her happiness go—she had gone so far—she did not mean to let it slip away from her without a struggle. She looked at him with earnest eyes.

"Do you really love me? Is it true?"

And he saw her white soul—it was shrinking a little, that poor, gentle little soul, shining out of her eyes as he looked in. "Don't," he said. "Don't look at me like that. And see, princess," he went on, softly. "Even you can ask me if it's true. Don't you see what your father would think—what everybody else must think, if I—"

Tears came into the lovely eyes and drowned the soul within. "Oh, what do you care?" she said. "What do we care what people think or what they say? If you really love me, think of me, wanting only—only you!" The tears overflowed at that, and dropped upon his coat. "And you would give me up!"

It was a reproach—a reproach that he deserved. He was silent for a moment, and in that moment he saw himself the selfish fool he was. It did not raise his opinion of himself. He was ashamed, very much ashamed, and very thankful. He was a good enough fellow after all, this Somebody. He took the princess's hand that was fluttering about his coat, waiting to be taken—he took it in both of his and kissed it.

"Dear little princess!" he whispered. "Dear little princess! I came very near being a fool—very near. Can you forgive me? I am—am very much ashamed."

And the little princess snuggled up to him. "Oh, yes," she said. "Oh, yes." She meant to hold her happiness fast, now that she had it, and so did he.

He laughed joyously. "Give you up!" he said. "And I thought it rather fine!"

They were alone on that road—excepting for Martha, and she was far behind, and more than ever interested in the storm—and there were only scattered houses. And—what would you have done? The little princess gave a contented little sigh.

"Think!" she said, smiling up at him. "Think! If you had insisted on giving me up—after what I had done! I should be so ashamed!" She was interrupted for a moment. "I haven't any other Christmas present for you. Do you—do you think that—that I will do?"

Le Roy est mort. Vive le Roy! And the poor king who was dead—he didn't know—he is to be forgiven.

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THE SPECTATOR

"THIS way to the elevators. The promenade on eighth floor, from two to four," said the polite floor-walker, and added, to Mrs. Spectator: "You'd better see it, madam. You'll find it well worth while, for all the new Paris fashions are shown on living models." After that there was nothing for the Spectator to do but to follow meekly while Mrs. Spectator made for the eighth floor.

It was still five minutes to two, but the spacious room on the eighth floor already needed the S. R. O. sign—Standing Room Only—although there were no reserved seats. At the end of the room a Moorish scene, with arcaded and arched Saracenic doorways, all in gay Oriental color, was set up. A dais against the walls held the musicians, who were playing queer Eastern music, jangling and barbaric. From the last arched door, screened by tightly drawn curtains, a short flight of shallow steps led down to a high and narrow platform which wound like an S amid the audience, whose seats were placed in rising tiers on each side, and already crowded to the limit, "like a queer little intimate theater," as Mrs. Spectator expressed it, as she took up her standing-room behind the last row of orchestra chairs, close by the mysterious door.

"Lots of people come here instead of going to the matinée," said the woman in front, talking to a companion. They were from one of the suburbs, and had come in to shop and to see. "Last year the exhibition wasn't as good as this, but even then the place was fairly well filled. You could come up at the last minute, though, and see it pretty well. Now you have to come early to get a seat at all. I want to see the Poiret things, with those wired tunics. Isn't it astonishing how many men there are here—buyers, I suppose!" The Spectator had been rather astonished by that, too—and reassured, for no man likes to venture lonely among feminine mysteries, since the days of Clodius and the Bona Dea.

A bright orange-colored programme, printed in gorgeous purple tones, had been handed to each comer by the ushers at the door, setting forth that the department store presented

THE LATEST
MINARET AND TURKISH MODES
IN
LA PROMENADE DES TOILETTES

and the Spectator gasped as he contemplated the ladies on the cover. Was it possible, in an every-day New York department store, that such Gallicized houris from "The Garden of Allah" could really appear in the flesh? Having learned to take theatrical programmes with a grain of salt, he naturally doubted, and so was not prepared for what followed.

The orchestra struck a discord in true Turkish style. The curtains parted. Inside the doorway, an alcove hung in scarlet satin was flooded with dazzling light, concentrated upon a figure that at the first blush seemed to be out of the "Arabian Nights." Turning in terror to his programme, he found, to his great relief, that this was one of "the first showing in America of costumes worn in 'Le Minaret' at the Théâtre Renaissance in Paris." Comforted by the assurance that it was not meant for promenading on Fifth Avenue, the Spectator gave his critical attention to Paul Poiret's latest vagary, amid a buzz of interest rising from the packed audience.

Holding the pose rigidly, in the Byzantine style, with perfectly immobile and painted face fixed in the smile of a French doll, the model stood in the glare of light a while; then, with slow and sidewise motion, undulated down the steps and moved along the platform between rows of eager eyes. A tight black velvet turban-like cap, with butterfly antennæ, somewhat resembling the headdress of Mephistopheles in "Faust," was pulled down over her blonde hair and covered even her ears. An equally tight black velvet bodice, richly embroidered, a wide silk sash, three accordion-plaited scarlet gauze flounces, one above the other, edged with black and wired out, and white gauze Turkish trousers below them, completed the costume (in whose description Mrs. Spectator has helped out the mere masculine mind). As with slow, proud motion, apparently oblivious of the audience, the model moved away from the steps—it

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was excellently done, and somehow removed her from the same category as a chorus girl or a saleswoman or an artist's model, and made her an abstract fashion-plate—the music sounded again, the curtains parted afresh, and another vision from "Minaret" circles stood revealed.

"See!" said a youthful voice behind the Spectator. "Good show, and don't cost anything, either!" It was a sharp-faced lad, who, with a companion, was enjoying himself hugely. "Look at that dame! Ain't she the limit?" This time the effect was of a leopard crossed with a lamp-shade. The bodice and the swaying, tilting tunic, wired out stiffly at the knee, were of filmy leopard-patterned stuff. From beneath the lamp-shade came white accordion-plaited chiffon Turkish trousers, and the effect of the whole was weird in the extreme. "She'd better go in!" said the suburban lady, severely. But, instead of that, she slithered down the steps with a balancing, careful motion—the Spectator noticed that all the models found difficulty in getting down those steps with dignity—and paraded swaying along the narrow platform.

A third chord, a third parting of the curtains, a third bizarre figure, this time in rows of blonde curls, rows of white chiffon ruffles to the knees wired out, and tight white satin skirt, with the inevitable slit—and the three Minaret novelties were over. After that, one evening gown after another, from Callot, Doucet, Premet, Paquin, Drecoll, and a long list of others, posed in the fierce light and descended the steps, each with some kinship to the freakish mode. Each had its name on the programme—"La Pagode," in tiers of mauve and copper; "La Vapoureuse," white tulle trimmed with skunk fur; "Le Soleil Levant," chiffon to represent an Oriental sunset, trimmed with gold lace and Turkish beads; "Papillon," black and white tulle trimmed with rhinestones; and so on. The Spectator clung to his programme and studied it deeply, as this report shows; but he could not understand (nor could Mrs. Spectator enlighten him) as to why a "white crêpe combined with Turkish green satin and trimmed with black lace" should be called "Theodore," or why a black satin with green and gold adjuncts should be named "Tartuffe." Like a group of proud and painted peacocks curiously removed from humanity, the models moved back and forth on the winding platform, and the crowd massed and augmented behind the seats.

"I saw the models in Paris this summer," said a dressmaker behind the Spectator. "They had a small stage and music at Lucile's, but nothing like this. At Callot's, though, they gave us afternoon tea, because we had been going the rounds all day, and had had no time for lunch. There's a Russian painter now who is making weirder designs than Poiret, all Cubist-patterned things, but very artistic. The tunic, of course, is the thing to insist on."

Mrs. Spectator stiffened. "I'm not going to wear a wired tunic!" she whispered to the Spectator. But the next moment he noticed her absorbed in a green velvet embroidered in gold in soup-plate effect with what looked like the arms of Austria on an evident, though modified, tunic, and he knew that where the dressmaker insists the customer becomes a lamb. "We are betrayed by what is weak within!"

Afternoon gowns, tailor costumes, children's frocks (displayed on slim young models whose hair hung down their backs, and who looked not a day older than twelve), wraps of orange, and scarlet hats of all sizes, shapes, and flamboyant colors, went on posing and promenading, and the crowd pressed ever harder. "Let's go!" said Mrs. Spectator, satiated at last by a flame-colored velvet embroidered in gold; and, after a breathless five minutes of extrication from the throng, the elevators were reached. In the corner, this side of them, a couple were standing—a young salesman, his book and pencil in his pocket, and a little gray-haired woman, in a nondescript wrap and a shabby bonnet, bidding him good-by with the mother-look in her eyes. "I can't come up again for a good while to see you," she was saying; "your father's that sick I can't leave him. You're a good boy, Jim. You're my best comfort." He gave her a hug, shabby, fashionless embodiment of woman at her dearest that she was, as the elevator came clanging up and the moment of parting came. What did the flaring parade of grotesque gowns in the garish room beyond matter? The woman-soul that leadeth upward and on is always with the world, and —"Every woman knows that that's all that *really* counts!" said Mrs. Spectator, softly.

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BY THE WAY

The burden of work carried by the United States post-office is enormous, and it is made vastly more onerous by reason of carelessness on the part of the public in sending improperly directed letters and packages. In Chicago, for instance, a recent count showed that out of 465,750 pieces of first-class mail received on one day, no fewer than 204,930, or 44 per cent, were insufficiently or improperly directed. Postmaster-General Burleson asks the co-operation of all well-disposed citizens, especially at this time when the holidays are approaching, in saving the post-office from this unnecessary work.

The Young Women's Christian Associations of the country have started a useful movement in appointing a Commission on Thrift and Efficiency. Its report contains valuable suggestions for a Nation-wide programme for promoting better standards of personal efficiency among women. One of the Commission's first achievements is a personal account book which is said to have met with "a wonderful welcome from the girl in the student, the business, and the industrial world."

The Japanese steamship company, the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, will, it is reported, inaugurate a service around the world via New York after the opening of the Panama Canal. The first vessels for the new service are now building at Kobe, Japan.

"What are the ten greatest inventions of our time?" The "Scientific American" offered a prize for the best answer. The winner named these: The electric furnace, the steam turbine, the automobile, moving pictures, wireless telegraphy, the aeroplane, the cyanide process, the linotype machine, the induction motor, and electric welding. X rays, radium, color photography, the Diesel engine, the telephone, and the phonograph, it will be noticed, are omitted.

New Guinea is one of the few countries that still present untrodden fields for the explorer. The difficulties of traveling in the interior of this great island have prompted a German traveler, Lieutenant Graetz, to project the exploration of the island by means of an air-ship. This will enable the explorers to pass without difficulty over rivers, mountains, and jungles which would be traversed only with great toil by ordinary travelers.

"Madame Simone," says the theatrical manager William A. Brady, "comments on our weakness for the 'happy ending.' That is a concession to the public, which time and again has expressed its disfavor at the more artistic 'unhappy ending.'" The "Dramatic Mirror," commenting on this statement, says that the most successful plays have been those with an unhappy ending. It mentions among these "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Romeo and Juliet," "Hamlet," "The Darling of the Gods," "East Lynne," and others.

Wooden pails are being displaced by steel receptacles, says the "American Machinist." For the paint trade alone one plant turns out every year 4,000,000 steel pails to hold white lead. All the operations in making these pails are performed by ingenious machinery.

Canada, according to "Shipping Illustrated," has not been enthusiastic in sending recruits to the British navy. The navies of the world, it says, have always recognized the coast fisheries as the cradle of their best men. But the pay in the British navy is meager compared with what the men can earn at home, and, more important still to the independent fishermen, "the retribution which follows upon 'jawing' a superior officer is intolerable to men accustomed to dispute orders with which they do not agree."

The famous Pont du Gard, a Roman bridge at Nîmes, France, is menaced with destruction. It is not owned, it seems, by the public, as it ought to be, but by a private citizen who says he cannot afford to pay for its upkeep; he calls on the Government for assistance, and if this is not forthcoming he threatens to sell the bridge to some wealthy American who may bring it to this country!

An unfortunate known as "the man who can't laugh" recently got a verdict of $25,000 from his former employers. He was thrown 140 feet down an elevator shaft, broke the second cervical vertebra, and has since lived in a steel corset with a head guard which prevents him from moving his head even a fraction of an inch. The slightest twist of his neck might break the spinal cord and kill him. A laugh or a sneeze would probably do this, hence the appellation quoted above.

One half of the world is trying to get its name into the newspapers and the other half is trying to keep its name out of them. In the latter class must be included, as a "headliner," the person who has just given $250,000 to Columbia University, New York City. Not even the trustees of the University, it is said, know the name of the giver.

Among the many definitions of genius, that of Thomas A. Edison has the virtue of brevity, not to say wit: "Genius is two per cent inspiration and ninety-eight per cent perspiration."

"Of all the industries, the railroads, which are second only to agriculture in magnitude and second to none in the range of requirements for trained men," says the "Railway Age Gazette," "obtain the least benefit from the colleges and universities of the country." The "Gazette"

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quotes Dr. Humphreys, President of Stevens Institute of Technology, as recommending special apprenticeship courses for engineering graduates as a way to remedy the difficulty.

Rhode Island farmers have established a co-operative market in Providence. They bought four acres of land in a suitable locality, paying about $63,000 for the tract; and have provided a much better market than the old one under the management of the city. Retail dealers' prices are said to have become much more reasonable since the farmers started their own market.

Dr. William S. Rainsford, former rector of St. George's Church, New York City, was the guest of honor at the recent celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of St. George's Club, of which he was the founder. One of its most prominent members was the late J. P. Morgan, who built a memorial house for the club.

The manufacturers of typesetting machines, says the "American Printer," have been hard hit by the new tariff, such machines being now on the free list, though heretofore protected by a duty of thirty per cent. No foreign machines of this sort, however, are now in use in the United States; but representatives of foreign firms that deal in such machinery have recently been looking over the field with a view to entering our market. Perhaps they will decide to lower the cost of living for the printers of the country.

Summarizing the difference between Western and Oriental ideas in art, Laurence Binyon says in the "Atlantic:" "Our eyes are led to a central object [in Western design], which holds the design together, as a keystone holds an arch. But in the typical Chinese or Japanese painting there is no one central or dominant object; it is the relation between the several objects that makes the unity of the design. . . . The art of the West has been like a fire choked with the fuel which we have heaped on it so eagerly. In the art of the East the flame has burned far clearer and purer."

German housewives, according to a magazine writer, are as complaisant in giving their unreliable servants good references as are American women. But some of them have discovered a way out of the conventional deception. They put their telephone number beneath the name and address which garnish a too flattering "character"—and the mistress who is aware of the purport of the signal does not engage the unsatisfactory maid.

S. S. McClure, in his autobiography now being published in "McClure's," says that it was only by a narrow chance that he escaped being a professional tramp. The tramp's life was so attractive to him when he was attending school at Valparaiso, Indiana, that he ran away, "not once or twice, but dozens and dozens of times." One stronger impulse he had, however—the determination to get an education. This always brought him back after his fit of *Wanderlust*.

Denver is to have a fine new union railway station, to cost two million dollars. Spokane is spending seven millions on freight and passenger terminals. The Western cities that are without palatial railway facilities will soon be uncomfortably conspicuous.

Copenhagen is the most law-abiding city in the world, according to statistics concerning homicide. In the year 1910, among its population of 554,400, there was but one murder. This was at the rate of 0.18 to 100,000 population. The rate of homicides per 100,000 in Paris in the same year was 3.6; in New York, 6.9; in Chicago, 9.2.

Philadelphia waiters must receive high tips if the statement of one of them was intended to appear plausible. He was trying to dispose of a $50 gold piece which had belonged to a collection of extremely rare coins. On being arrested for complicity in stealing the collection, the waiter asserted that the coin had been given to him as a tip by a guest at the hotel where he worked! Even New York's fashionable restaurants seem to be outclassed in this waiter's experience.

The new 1,000-foot piers for New York City have been started. They are to be at the foot of West Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, and Forty-sixth Streets. Each pier will cost about $3,000,000.

New records for upper air research have been made by the Government in experiments at Catalina Island, California. A number of balloons, each equipped with instruments, were sent up, and one of them reached a height of twenty miles. At eleven miles the thermometers recorded a temperature of 85 degrees below zero; at twenty miles, strange to say, the temperature was slightly higher—48 degrees below.

An extensive housing scheme on the part of London's city government is reported. Ten thousand houses for laborers are to be built, according to a statement by President Runciman, of the Board of Education. The sum of $7,500,000 is to be expended in this project for better conditions for those who most need them.

In a symposium on the comparative cost of living in country and city one man writes to a daily paper: "I have lived in both city and country and find that it costs all you have, can earn, borrow, beg, or, if fortunately situated, steal, to live in either." The frank *naïveté* of this humorist seems incompatible with the guile that he would have us believe he possesses.

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